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VOLUME 9

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PERSEUS in the TENT of PAULUS EMILIUS.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

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IN TEN VOLUMES.

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BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

This nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related. He reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. *The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world* 3858, *and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Eyypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Eupiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire, that is to say, from the year of the world* 3840, *to* 3939. *The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometor till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is from the year of the world* 3845 *to the year* 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

SECT. I. *Perſeus prepares ſecretly for a war againſt the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His ſecret meaſures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the ſenate of them. Perſeus endeavours to rid himſelf of that prince, firſt by aſſaſſination, and afterwards by poiſon. The Romans break with Perſeus. Different opinions and diſpoſitions of the kings and ſtates, in regard to the Macedonian war. After ſeveral embaſſies on both ſides, the war is declared in form.*

THE death of Philip[a] happened very opportunely for ſuſpending the war againſt the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a ſtrange deſign, and had already began to put it in execution; which was to bring a conſiderable body of troops, both horſe and foot, from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had ſettled near the mouths of the Boryſthenes, now called the Nieper, and taken the name of Baſtarnæ. That people were neither accuſtomed to till the earth, to feed cattle nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and ſold their ſervices to any people that would employ them. After having paſſed the Danube, Philip was to have ſettled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had reſolved utterly to exterminate; becauſe being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occaſion for making irruptions into it. The Baſtarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new ſettlement, and to march into Italy, in order to inrich themſelves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the ſucceſs might be, Philip conceived he ſhould find great advantages in it: if it ſhould happen that the Baſtarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he ſhould eaſily be conſoled for their defeat, in ſeeing himſelf delivered from

[a] A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 20.

from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negociating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to demand that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ [b] had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate without making any further inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome,[c] that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He

[b] A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Frienshem in Liv.
[c] A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refuſed to obey him by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon the pretence of conſulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negociate alliances. This journey at firſt alarmed the whole country, and occaſioned ſo general a conſternation that even Eumenes did not think himſelf ſafe in Pergamus. But, Perſeus, as ſoon as he had conſulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, paſſing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Theſſaly, without committing any hoſtilities in his march. He afterwards ſent either ambaſſadors or circular letters to all the ſtates through which he had paſſed, to demand that they would forget ſuch ſubjects of diſcontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himſelf with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and reſentment ſo high againſt the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the ſlaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an aſſured aſylum, and knew they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perſeus cauſed all theſe ſlaves to be ſeiſed and ſent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the reeſtabliſhment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and deſired to make his court to the king, ſeconded his demand very ſtrongly, and was ſupported by thoſe who were moſt ſolicitous for recovering their ſlaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal perſons of the aſſembly, who was convinced that the ſafety of the league conſiſted in the inviolable obſervance of the treaty

* Dolopia was a region of Theſſaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

treaty concluded with the Romans, repreſented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilſt that kingdom was making preparations to declare war againſt Rome as ſoon as poſſible. He concluded, that it was neceſſary to leave things in their preſent condition, till time ſhould explain whether their fears were juſt or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough when that appeared, to re-eſtabliſh commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who ſpoke after Callicrates, did his utmoſt to prove that ſuch terrors were without foundation; that the queſtion was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perſeus, and much leſs to break with the Romans, but ſolely to reverſe a decree, for which the injuſtice of Philip might have given room, but which Perſeus, who had no ſhare in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deſerving. That that prince could not be but aſſured, that in caſe of a war againſt the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But "(added he) whilſt the peace ſubſiſts, if animoſities "and diſſenſions are not made to ceaſe entirely, "at leaſt reaſonable to ſuſpend them, and to let them "ſleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this aſſembly. As it was taken amiſs that the king had contented himſelf with only ſending them a letter; he afterwards ſent ambaſſadors to the aſſembly, which had been ſummoned to Megalopolis. But thoſe who apprehended giving Rome offence, uſed ſuch effectual means, that they were refuſed audience.

The ambaſſadors [d] ſent by the ſenate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get acceſs to the king, upon pretence that he was ſometimes abroad, and ſometimes indiſpoſed; a double evaſion equally falſe. That for the reſt, it appeared

[d] A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

peared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reaſonable to expect it would ſpeedily break out. They gave an account alſo of the ſtate in which they had found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domeſtic diviſions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vaſt diſorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeaſing the perſons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongſt the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to ſay, by expiation of prodigies, and various ſacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambaſſadors whom the ſenate had ſent into Greece. After having appeaſed as much as poſſible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponneſus, where he cauſed the aſſembly of the Achæans to be ſummoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having conſtantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perſeus.

The ambaſſadors of [illegible] by frequent embaſſies inceſſantly ſolicited the Grecian cities, exceeding his power to perform. They were [illegible] ently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great ſervices to moſt of thoſe cities; and thoſe of his own dominions would not have changed condition with ſuch as were entirely free. There was, however, no compariſon between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perſeus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accuſed of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whoſe aid he had uſed in deſtroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eume-

nes

nes had rendered himſelf amiable by his tenderneſs for his brothers and relations; by his juſtice in governing his ſubjects; and by his generous propenſity to do good, and to ſerve others. Notwithſtanding this difference of character, they gave Perſeus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inſpired them with contempt for a ſtate, whoſe origin was wholly recent, and which they had ſeen take birth; or that the Greeks had ſome change in view; or becauſe they were pleaſed with having ſome ſupport in him to hold the Romans in reſpect.

Perſeus [e] was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of ſeparating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to ſhare the Macedonian throne with Perſeus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perſeus had furniſhed the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every ſoldier and ſeaman who came with Laodice. A ſentence paſſage by Rome in favour of the Lycians againſt the people of Rhodes, had extremely exaſperated the latter. Perſeus endeavoured to take the advantage of their reſentment againſt Rome to attach them to himſelf.

The [f] Romans were not ignorant of the meaſures taken by Perſeus to bring over the ſtates of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expreſsly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. He declared, that beſides his deſire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an eſtabliſhment which left him nothing to wiſh, he had undertaken this voyage, expreſsly, to adviſe the ſenate in perſon to be upon their guard againſt the enterpriſes of Perſeus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed

[e] Polyb. Legat. lx. lxi. Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.

[f] A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

believed in a manner fallen to him in right of ſucceſſion. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, ſupplied him with the means of raiſing numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himſelf in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had ſince much exerciſed himſelf in different enterpriſes, againſt his neighbours. That he was highly conſidered by the cities of Greece and Aſia; without ſeeming to have any ſort of merit to ſupport ſuch credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had eſpouſed the daughter of Seleucus, and given his ſiſter in marriage to Pruſias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his intereſt, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the oppoſition of a few perſons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perſeus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domeſtic troubles, and not to the Romans. That ſupported by theſe powerful allies, he made ſuch preparations for war himſelf, as put him into a condition to diſpenſe with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and proviſions for ten years. That beſides his immenſe annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thouſand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning thoſe of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arſenals a ſufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia ſhould be incapable of ſupplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon ſimple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the beſt information. "For the reſt,

(ſaid

"(ſaid he) in concluding, having diſcharged the duty "which my regard and gratitude for the Roman peo- "ple made indiſpenſable, and delivered my conſcience, "it only remains for me to implore all the gods and "goddeſſes, that they would inſpire you with ſenti- "ments and meaſures conſiſtent with the glory of your "empire, and the preſervation of your friends and al- "lies, whoſe ſafety depends upon yours."

The ſenators were much affected with this diſcourſe. Nothing that paſſed in the ſenate, except that king Eumenes had ſpoken, was known abroad, or ſuffered to take air at firſt; ſo inviolably were the deliberations of that auguſt aſſembly kept ſecret.

The ambaſſadors from king Perſeus had audience ſome days after. They found the ſenate highly prejudiced againſt their maſter, and what Harpalus, one of them, ſaid in his ſpeech, enflamed them ſtill more againſt him. It was, that Perſeus deſired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor ſaid any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the reſt, if he diſcovered that they were obſtinately bent upon a rupture with him, he ſhould know how to defend himſelf with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Aſia, anxious for the effect which theſe embaſſies might produce at Rome, had alſo ſent deputies thither under different pretexts, eſpecially the Rhodians, who ſuſpected that Eumenes had joined them in his accuſation againſt Perſeus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently againſt Eumenes, reproaching him with having ſtirred up Lycia againſt the Rhodians, and of having rendered himſelf more inſupportable to Aſia, than Antiochus himſelf. This diſcourſe was very agreeable to the Aſiatic people, who ſecretly favoured Perſeus, but very much diſpleaſed the ſenate, and had no other effect than to make them ſuſpect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher conſideration, from this kind of conſpiracy which they

ſaw formed againſt him. He was diſmiſſed in conſequence with the higheſt honours, and great preſents.

Harpalus [g] having returned into Macedonia with the utmoſt diligence, reported to Perſeus, that he had left the Romans in a diſpoſition not to defer long a declaration of war againſt him. The king was not ſorry upon that account, believing himſelf in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to ſupport it with ſucceſs. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he ſuſpected that Rome had been appriſed of his moſt ſecret meaſures, and began with declaring againſt him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the moſt criminal treachery. He diſpatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occaſions, to aſſaſſinate that prince. Perſeus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his aſſaſſins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whoſe houſe he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambuſh in a narrow defile, where two men could not paſs a-breaſt. When the king came there, the aſſaſſins rolled two great ſtones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without ſenſe, and the other wounded him conſiderably in the ſhoulder; after which they poured an hail of leſſer ſtones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who ſtaid to aſſiſt him. The aſſaſſins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnaſſus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almoſt without life. When he came a little to himſelf, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the iſland of Egenia, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with ſo much ſecrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reaſon to believe him dead. That report ſpread even to Aſia. Attalus gave credit to it too ſoon for a good brother,

[g] Liv. l. xlii. n. 15—19.

brother, and looking upon himſelf already as king, was preparing to eſpouſe the widow. Eumenes, at their firſt interview, could not forbear making him ſome gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at firſt reſolved to diſſemble his ſenſe of his brother's imprudence.

Perſeus had attempted at the ſame time to poiſon him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brunduſium, who received in his houſe all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who paſſed through that city. The king put into his hands a very ſubtle poiſon, for him to give Eumenes, when he ſhould come to his houſe. Rammius did not dare to refuſe this commiſſion, whatever horror he had for it, leſt the king ſhould make a trial of the draught upon himſelf; but he ſet out with a full reſolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embaſſy into Macedonia, he went to him, diſcovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius alſo carried Praxo thither along with him, at whoſe houſe the aſſaſſins had lodged in Delphos. When the ſenate had heard theſe two witneſſes, after ſuch black attempts, they thought it unneceſſary to deliberate longer upon declaring war againſt a prince, who made uſe of aſſaſſinations and poiſon to rid himſelf of his enemies, and proceeded to take due meaſures for the ſucceſs of ſo important an enterpriſe.

Two ambaſſadors, who arrived at Rome about the ſame time, gave the ſenate great pleaſure. The firſt came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He ſent the ſon, whom he intended for his ſucceſſor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earlieſt infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himſelf in the great art of reigning, by the converſation and ſtudy of their great men; and he deſired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the

the marks of diſtinction that could be ſhewn him, and the ſenate cauſed a commodious houſe to be provided for him at the expence of the public. The other embaſſy was from the Thracians, who deſired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As ſoon as Eumenes [h] was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himſelf in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had eſcaped, and diſpatched others at the ſame time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They ſent alſo to Perſeus to make their complaints and to demand ſatisfaction. Theſe ambaſſadors, ſeeing they could not have audience for many days, ſet out in order to return to Rome. The king cauſed them to be recalled. They repreſented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that he ſhould not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that reſtitution ſhould be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with inſupportable haughtineſs, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their ſlaves. Upon their demanding a poſitive anſwer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The ſubſtance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not becauſe he approved it, but becauſe he could do no otherwiſe, not being ſufficiently eſtabliſhed upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty and would propoſe reaſonable conditions, he ſhould conſult what it was neceſſary for him to do.

The

[h] Liv. l. xlii. n. 25—27.

The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambaſſadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they ſhould take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the reſult of their embaſſy; and added, that they had obſerved, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they paſſed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambaſſadors that had been ſent to the kings, their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Aſia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that could be deſired of them. The ſenate would not grant audience to the ambaſſadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accuſed of holding intelligence with Perſeus; and deferred hearing thoſe from the Rhodians, who had alſo rendered themſelves ſuſpected, till the new conſuls entered upon their office. However not to loſe time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Craſſus and C. Caſſius Longinus, were elected conſuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Aſia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers on the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred againſt Perſeus, and ſtill more by the new crime, which had almoſt coſt him his life in his voyage to Delphos.

Pruſias, king of Bythynia, had reſolved to ſtand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himſelf, that the Romans would not inſiſt upon his taking up arms againſt his wife's brother, and hoped if Perſeus

were victorious, that prince, would eaſily acquieſce in his neutrality at the requeſt of his ſiſter.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, beſides having promiſed to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes eſpouſed, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt, relying upon the weakneſs of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of thoſe who had the care of his perſon and affairs. He imagined that he had found a plauſible pretext for making war upon that prince, by diſputing Cœloſyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obſtruct his ambitious deſigns. He had, however, declared to the ſenate by his ambaſſadors, that they might diſpoſe of all his forces, and had repeated the ſame promiſe to the ambaſſadors the Romans had ſent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to reſolve for himſelf. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defenſe of Cœloſyria, and promiſed to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Maſſiniſſa ſupplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to ſend his ſon Miſagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impoſſible to execute that project, becauſe they would never ſuffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which caſe he ſhould continue in his preſent condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conqueſts, and at that time ſupported Carthage, ſhould happen to be reduced, he expected, in conſequence, to make himſelf maſter of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himſelf much ſuſpected by the Romans, without knowing

however which party he ſhould chooſe; and it ſeemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odryſæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the diſpoſition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the ſtates and free cities, the populace were univerſally inclined in favour of Perſeus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the perſons in authority amongſt thoſe people were divided into three claſſes. Some of them abandoned themſelves ſo abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they loſt all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of theſe, few concerned themſelves about the juſtice of the Roman government; moſt of them having no views but to their private intereſt, convinced that their power in their cities would ſubſiſt in proportion to the ſervices they ſhould render the Romans. The ſecond claſs was of thoſe, who gave entirely into the king's meaſures; ſome, becauſe their debts and the bad eſtate of their affairs made them deſire a change; others, becauſe the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perſeus valued himſelf, agreed beſt with their own little pride and vanity. A third claſs, which were the moſt prudent and judicious, if it were abſolutely neceſſary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans' to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been beſt ſatisfied, that neither of the parties ſhould become too powerful by reducing the other; and preſerving a kind of equality and balance, ſhould always continue in peace: becauſe then one of them, by taking the weaker ſtates under its protection, whenever the other ſhould attempt to oppreſs them, would render the condition of them all more happy and ſecure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they ſaw, as from a place of ſafety, the

the battles and dangers of thoſe who had engaged in either party.

The Romans after having, according to their laudable cuſtom, diſcharged all the duties of religion, offered ſolemn prayers and ſacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy ſucceſs of the enterpriſe they had been ſo long preparing for, declared war in form againſt Perſeus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate ſatisfaction in regard to the ſeveral grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the ſame time arrived ambaſſadors from him, who ſaid that the king their maſter was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the ſenate all the ſatisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perſeus fought only to gain time, they were anſwered, that the conſul Licinius would be ſoon in Macedonia, with his army, and if the king deſired peace in earneſt, he might ſend his ambaſſadors to him, but that he need not give himſelf the trouble of ſending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themſelves they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans [1] omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of their arms. They diſpatched ambaſſadors on all ſides, to their allies, to animate and confirm thoſe who perſiſted to adhere to them, to determine ſuch as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate thoſe who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilſt they were at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, ambaſſadors arrived there from Perſeus, who had orders to addreſs themſelves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambaſſadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendſhip his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their maſter. Marcius anſwered, that his father had often ſpoke of king Philip's friendſhip and hoſpitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went

[1] Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends, bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am * assured," said

* *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; & si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me & emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello & armis persequendum esse censeatis commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela & expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, & regibus sociis bella infertis.* Liv.

" ſaid he in concluding, that my conſcience does not " reproach me with having committed any fault " knowingly, and with premeditated deſign, againſt " the Romans; and if I have done any thing un- " warily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power " to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to " deſerve the implacable enmity with which I am " purſued, as guilty of the blackeſt and moſt enor- " mous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor for- " given. It muſt be without foundation, that the " clemency and wiſdom of the Roman people is uni- " verſally extolled, if for ſuch ſlight cauſes, as ſcarce " merit complaint and remonſtrance, they take up " arms and make war upon kings in alliance with " them."

The reſult of this conference was, that Perſeus ſhould ſend new ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to try all poſſible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a ſnare laid by the artful commiſſioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at firſt great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perſeus, for time to ſend his ambaſſadors to Rome, and ſeemed at laſt to give into it only out of conſideration for the king. The true reaſon was, becauſe the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the ſide of Perſeus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amuſed by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture ſo favourable for himſelf and ſo contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambaſſadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; ſome declaring for Perſeus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies and not by the conſent of the whole body of the nation according to ancient cuſtom.

cuſtom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having raſhly engaged in the party of Perſeus, after having formed through a long courſe of time a republic which on ſeveral occaſions had preſerved itſelf from the greateſt dangers, ſaw themſelves ſeparated and governed by as many councils, as there were cities, in the province; all of which in the ſequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at firſt. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing that it was much eaſier to bring them into their meaſures, and ſubject them, by that means, than if their union ſubſiſted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæ and Haliartus, perſiſted in the alliance with Perſeus.

From Bœotia the commiſſioners went into Peloponneſus. The aſſembly of the Achæan league was ſummoned to Argos. They demanded only a thouſand men, to garriſon Chalcis, till the Roman army ſhould enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the ſame time Rome ſent [k] new commiſſioners into the moſt conſiderable iſlands of Aſia, to exhort them to ſend powerful aid into the field againſt [illegible]. The Rhodians ſignaliſed themſelves upon this occaſion. Hegemon, who was at that time Prytanis (the principal magiſtrate was ſo called) had prepared the people by repreſenting to them, that it was neceſſary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impreſſions, with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inſpire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambaſſadors, they ſhewed them a fleet of forty ſhips, entirely equipped and ready to ſail upon the firſt orders. This agreeable ſurpriſe was highly pleaſing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly ſatisfied with ſo diſtin-

[k] Liv. l. xlii. n. 45, 48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv—lxviii.

diſtinguiſhed a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perſeus, in conſequence of his interview with Marcius, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been propoſed in that conference. He diſpatched other ambaſſadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had paſſed in the interview, and deduced at large the reaſons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as ſpectators only till they ſaw what reſolutions the Romans would take, "If, contrary to the treaties "ſubſiſting between us, they attack me, you will be "(ſaid he) the mediators between the two nations. "All the world is intereſted in their continuing to "live in peace, and it behoves none more than you "to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not "only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece, "the more zeal and ardour you have for ſo great a "good, the more ought you to be upon your guard "againſt whomſoever ſhould attempt to inſpire you "with different ſentiments. You cannot but know, "that the certain means * to reduce Greece into ſla-"very, is to make it dependent upon one people only, "without leaving it any other to have recourſe to." The ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect; but were anſwered, that in caſe of war [illegible] was deſired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The ſame ambaſſadors went alſo into Bœotia, where they had almoſt as little reaſon to be ſatisfied; only a few ſmall [1] cities ſeparating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius

1 Coronæa and Haliartus.

* *Cum cæterorum id intereſſe, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates, dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ ſerva atque obnoxia ſore; ſi nullus alio ſit quam ad Romanos reſpectus.* Liv.

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the ſenate the ſucceſs of their commiſſion. They dwelt particularly upon the addreſs of their ſtratagem to deceive Perſeus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their ſucceſs in diſſolving the general aſſembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common conſent.

The greateſt part of the ſenate expreſſed great ſatisfaction in ſo wiſe a conduct, which argued profound policy and uncommon dexterity in negociation. But the old ſenators, who had imbibed others principles, and perſevered in their ancient maxims, ſaid, they did not ſee the Roman character ſuſtained in ſuch dealing. That their anceſtors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, uſed to make war openly, and not in diſguiſe and under cover; that ſuch unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That indeed ſtratagem ſometimes, in the moment of action, ſeemed to ſucceed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigorouſly in a battle, where the force of the troops on each ſide was tried as near as poſſible, and which the enemy could not aſcribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more laſting effect, becauſe it left a ſtrong conviction of the victor's ſuperior force and bravery.

Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances of the ancient ſenators, who could not reliſh theſe new maxims of policy, that part of the ſenate, which preferred the uſeful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occaſion, and the conduct of the two commiſſioners was approved. Marcius was ſent again with ſome gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he ſhould think moſt conſiſtent with the ſervice of the

public;

public; and Atilius into Theſſaly, to take poſſeſſion of Lariſſa; leſt upon the expiration of the truce, Perſeus ſhould make himſelf maſter of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was alſo ſent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perſeus was reſolved at Rome, the ſenate gave audience to his ambaſſadors. They repeated the ſame things, which had been ſaid in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to juſtify their maſter principally upon the attempt he was accuſed of having made on the perſon of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the ſenate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The conſul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as ſoon as poſſible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, ſet out with five and forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

SECT. II. *The conſul Licinius and king Perſeus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at ſome diſtance from each other. Fight of the horſe, in which Perſeus has conſiderably the advantage, and makes an ill uſe of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both ſides go into winter quarters.*

THE conſul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the capitol, ſet out from * Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the cuſtom. The departure of the conſuls, ſays Livy, was always attended with great ſolemnity, and an incredible concourſe of the people, eſpecially upon an important war, and againſt a powerful enemy. Beſides the intereſt every particular might have in the glory of the conſul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curi-

* Ann. Mund. 3833. Bef. Chriſt, 171.

a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal (said they) can know the "fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall "see him with his victorious army return in triumph "to the capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether "the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his succession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundusium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained no hopes of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction.

That

That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had loſt, but to render him formidable to thoſe, who at preſent made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They inſiſted, that by making ceſſion of a part he muſt determine to loſe all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but univerſal Empire. That they knew the greateſt kingdoms and moſt powerful empires were ſubject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking poſſeſſion of its territories; contenting themſelves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Maſſiniſſa. That they had driven Antiochus, and his ſon beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head againſt, the Romans. That prudence required Perſeus, whilſt he was ſtill maſter of it, ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, whether by making the Romans ſometimes one conceſſion, and ſometimes another, he was reſolved to ſee himſelf deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to aſk, as a favour of the Romans, permiſſion to retire and confine himſelf in Samothracia, or ſome other iſland, there to paſs the reſt of his days in contempt and miſery, with the mortification of ſurviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chooſe to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in caſe of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the univerſe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Beſides, was it conſiſtent for Perſeus, after having oppoſed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to uſurp his crown, to reſign it meanly to

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, that endeavoured to wreſt it out of his hands? That in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without reſiſtance, nor more laudable than to have uſed all poſſible endeavours to preſerve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it ſo neceſſary," ſaid the king, "let us make war then with the help of the gods." He gave orders at the ſame time to his generals to aſſemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went ſoon after himſelf, with all the Lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a ſacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army aſſembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thouſand foot, of whom almoſt half compoſed the phalanx, and four thouſand horſe. It was agreed that ſince the army Alexander the Great led into Aſia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one ſo numerous.

It was twenty-ſix years ſince Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any conſiderable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already began to exerciſe and form themſelves in the wars Macedonia had ſupported againſt the Thracians their neighbours. Philip beſides, and Perſeus after him, had long before formed the deſign of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we ſpeak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perſeus, before he took the field, thought it neceſſary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two ſons on each ſide of him, ſpoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to reſolve to take up arms againſt them;

but that deſign a ſudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that preſently after the death of Philip, the Romans had ſent ambaſſadors to him, and at the ſame time marched troops into Greece to take poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amuſed him during all the winter with deceitful interviews and a pretended truce, under the ſpecious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the conſul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which in his ſenſe was much ſuperior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and proviſions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains therefore, Ma-"cedonians," ſaid he in concluding, "only to act with "the ſame courage your anceſtors ſhewed, when "having triumphed over all Europe, they croſſed into "Aſia, and ſet no other bounds to their conqueſts, "than thoſe of the univerſe. You are not now to "carry your arms to the extremities of the Eaſt, but "to defend yourſelves in the poſſeſſion of the king-"dom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked "my father, they covered that unjuſt war with the "falſe pretence of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient liberty "of Greece; the preſent they undertake without "any diſguiſe, to reduce and enſlave Macedonia. "That haughty people could not bear, that the Roman "empire ſhould have any king for its neighbour, nor "that any warlike nation ſhould have arms for their "defence. For you may be aſſured, if you refuſe to "make war, and will ſubmit to the orders of thoſe "inſulting maſters, that you muſt reſolve to deliver "up your arms with your king and his kingdom to "them."

At theſe words the whole army, which had expreſſed no immoderate applauſe, for the reſt of his diſcourſe raiſed cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king

king to entertain the beſt hopes, and demanding earneſtly to be led againſt the enemy.

Perſeus then gave audience to the ambaſſadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and proviſions for the occaſions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindeſt manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reaſon, that the army was abundantly provided with all things neceſſary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after ſome days' march, arrived at Sycurium, a city ſituated at the foot of mount Oeta; the conſul's was at Gomphi in Theſſaly, after having ſurmounted the moſt incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almoſt impracticable. The Romans themſelves confeſſed, that had the enemy defended thoſe paſſes, they might eaſily have deſtroyed their whole army in them. The conſul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the ſame time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus, for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the conſul with four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. They had left Athenæus with two thouſand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garriſon of that important place. The allies ſent alſo other troops, though in number ſufficiently inconſiderable, and ſome gallies. Perſeus in the mean time ſent out ſeveral detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the conſul ſhould quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might ſurpriſe and attack him to advantage; but he was diſappointed, and obliged to content himſelf with diſtributing the booty he had made amongſt his ſoldiers, which was

very conſiderable, and conſiſted principally in cattle of all ſorts.

The conſul and king held each of them a council at the ſame time in order to reſolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been ſuffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without oppoſition, thought it adviſeable to go and attack the Romans in their camp, without loſs of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their ſlowneſs and delays would diſcredit them very much, with their allies, and reproached themſelves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilſt they were conſulting upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being preſent) a courier came in upon the ſpur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The ſignal was immediately given for the ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms, and an hundred horſe detached, with as many of the light armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perſeus, at ten in the morning, finding himſelf no farther from the Roman camp than a ſmall half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horſe and light-armed ſoldiers. He had ſcarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, againſt which he ſent a ſmall detachment of horſe, ſupported by ſome light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither ſide ſent any freſh troops to their aid, the ſkirmiſh ended without its being poſſible to ſay which ſide was victorious. Perſeus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day at the ſame hour, Perſeus advanced with all his troops, to the ſame place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within ſix leagues of the place, the way was very duſty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping cloſe in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced

vanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the ſame ſeveral days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was began, that they might face about. As the king's horſe and light-armed foot were very much ſuperior to thoſe of the Romans, they aſſured themſelves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The firſt deſign not ſucceeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the ſame place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thouſand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry, and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The duſt, which flew nearer than uſual, and was raiſed by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the firſt who brought the news, could ſcarce find belief that the enemy was ſo near, becauſe for ſeveral days before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the ſun at that time was juſt riſing. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confuſion. All the officers repaired with the utmoſt haſte to the general's tent, as the ſoldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the conſul, ſo ill informed in the motions of an enemy whoſe nearneſs to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perſeus had drawn up his troops at leſs than five hundred paces from the conſul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odryſæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horſe of his nation; the light-armed troops were diſtributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horſe formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's

king's horſe and thoſe of the auxiliaries were poſted. The king kept the centre with the horſe that always attended his perſon; before whom were placed the ſlingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The conſul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his entrenchments. The right wing, which conſiſted of all the Italian horſe, was commanded by C. Licinius Craſſus, the conſul's brother; the left, compoſed of the horſe of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was poſted in the centre, with a ſelect body of horſe; two hundred Gallic horſe, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Theſſalian horſe were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reſerved body. King Eumenes, and his brother Attalus with their troops, were poſted in the ſpace between the entrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almoſt equal on both ſides, and might amount to about four thouſand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the ſlings and miſſive weapons, which were poſted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beaſts long ſhut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themſelves firſt upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not ſupport ſo rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongſt them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their ſwords, ſometimes cutting the legs of the horſes, and ſometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perſeus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, ſoon put the Greeks into diſorder; and as they were vigorouſly purſued in their flight, the Theſſalian horſe, which at ſmall diſtance from the left wing, formed

ed a body of reſerve, and in the beginning of the action had been only ſpectators of the battle, was of great ſervice, when that wing gave way. For thoſe horſe retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a ſafe retreat between their ranks to thoſe who fled and were diſperſed; and when they ſaw the enemy was not warm in their purſuit, were ſo bold as to advance to ſuſtain and encourage their own party. As this body of horſe marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the kings cavalry, who had broke in the purſuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorouſly puſhing the enemy and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the leaſt effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the preſent ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter muſt have been entirely defeated. Whilſt he was deliberating with himſelf, between hope and fear, upon what he ſhould reſolve, Evander* of Crete in whom he repoſed great confidence, upon ſeeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perſeus, and earneſtly begged of him not to abandon himſelf to his preſent ſucceſs, nor engage raſhly in a new action, that was not neceſſary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He repreſented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himſelf with the preſent advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or if he ſhould chooſe to continue the war, his firſt ſucceſs would infallibly determine thoſe, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow

* Perſeus made uſe of him in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes.

follow that opinion; wherefore having praiſed the counſel and zeal of Evander, he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded for his horſe, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans loſt two thouſand of their light armed infantry, at leaſt, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horſe killed, and as many taken priſoners. On the other ſide only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot ſoldiers were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; eſpecially the Thracians, who with ſongs of triumph carried the heads of thoſe they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perſeus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound ſorrow kept a mournful ſilence, and filled with terror, expected every moment, that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other ſide of the Peneus, in order that the river might ſerve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The conſul was averſe to taking that ſtep, which, as an open profeſſion of fear, was highly diſhonourable to himſelf and his army; but however, being convinced by reaſon, he yielded to neceſſity, paſſed with his troops by the favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perſeus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he ſaw them entrenched on the other ſide of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not purſuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confeſſed it a ſtill greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the reſt of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy during their confuſion and diſorder in paſſing

ing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at leaſt part of their army.

We ſee here, in a ſenſible example, to what cauſes revolutions of ſtates, and the fall of the greateſt empires, owe their being. There is no reader but muſt have been ſurpriſed at ſeeing Perſeus ſtop ſhort in a deciſive moment, and let ſlip an almoſt certain occaſion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to diſtinguiſh ſo groſs a fault, But how came it to paſs, that Perſeus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, ſhould be ſo much miſtaken? A notion is ſuggeſted to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, raſh, and abſurd. But GOD who rules the heart of man, and who wills the deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, ſuffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breaſt, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different meaſures. Nor is that ſufficient. The firſt fault might have been eaſily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. GOD ſeems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound ſleep. Not one of his officers has the leaſt thought of obſerving the motions of the enemy in the night. We ſee nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy ſcripture teaches us to think otherwiſe, and what was ſaid of Saul's ſoldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: "And no man ſaw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all aſleep, becauſe a deep ſleep from the LORD was fallen upon them." 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, ſaw themſelves no longer in danger of being ſuddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the ſharpeſt affliction. All who were preſent in the council of war aſſembled by the conſul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was ſaid, that they were the firſt who took the alarm and fled; that the reſt of

the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the firſt who took to flight. The Theſſalians on the contrary, were praiſed for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with ſeveral marks of honour.

The ſpoils taken from the Romans were not inconſiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thouſand cuiraſſes, and a much greater number of helmets, ſwords and darts of all kinds. The king made great preſents of them to the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt; and having aſſembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy preſage for them and certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon their victory over the Roman horſe, in which the principal force of their army conſiſted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promiſed himſelf from thence a more conſiderable ſucceſs over their infantry, who had only eſcaped their ſwords by a ſhameful flight during the night; but that it would be eaſy to force the intrenchments in which their fears kept them ſhut up. The victorious ſoldiers, who carried the ſpoils of the enemies they had ſlain upon their ſhoulders, heard this diſcourſe with ſenſible pleaſure, and promiſed themſelves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the paſt. The foot on their ſide, eſpecially that which compoſed the Macedonian phalanx prompted by a laudable jealouſy, pretended at leaſt to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the firſt occaſion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and paſſion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſet forward the next day, paſſed the river and encamped at Mopſium, an eminence ſituate between Tempe and Lariſſa.

The joy for the good ſucceſs of ſo important a battle affected Perſeus, at firſt, in all its extent. He looked

upon himſelf as ſuperior to a people, who alone were ſo in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by ſurpriſe, and in a manner ſtolen by ſtratagem and addreſs, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own ſight, and under his own conduct. He had ſeen the Roman haughtineſs give way before him three times in one day; at firſt in keeping cloſe, out of fear, in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in ſhamefully betaking themſelves to flight; and, laſtly, by flying again, during the obſcurity of the night, and in finding no other ſecurity, but by being encloſed within their entrenchments, the uſual refuge of terror and apprehenſion. Theſe thoughts were highly ſoothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his firſt tranſports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of ſudden joy was ſomewhat evaporated, Perſeus came to himſelf, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the conſequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in ſome ſort of terror. The wiſeſt of the courtiers, about him, [m] taking advantage of ſo happy a diſpoſition, ventured to give him the counſel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the beſt of his late ſucceſs, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They repreſented to him, that the moſt certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the preſent favours of fortune, nor abandon himſelf to the deluſive glitter of proſperity. That therefore he would do well to ſend to the conſul, and propoſe a renovation of the treaty upon the ſame conditions impoſed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriouſly for himſelf than after ſo memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occaſion of concluding a ſure and laſting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had

[m] Polyb. Legat. lxix.

had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if notwithſtanding that check the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, ſhould reject a juſt and equitable accommodation, he would at leaſt have the conſolation of having the gods and men for witneſſes of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciouſneſs of the Romans.

The king gave into theſe wiſe remonſtrances, to which he never was averſe. The majority of the council alſo applauded them. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to the conſul, who gave them audience in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perſeus would pay the ſame tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the anſwer it was proper to make. The Roman conſtancy ſhowed itſelf upon this occaſion in an extraordinary manner. It was the cuſtom * at that time to expreſs in adverſity all the aſſurance and loftineſs of good fortune, and to act with moderation in proſperity. The anſwer was, That no peace could be granted to Perſeus, unleſs he ſubmitted himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the ſenate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary, and, in their ſenſe, ſo ill-timed a pride; moſt of them believed it needleſs to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be ſoon reduced to demand what they now refuſed. Perſeus was not of the ſame opinion. He judged rightly that Rome was not ſo haughty, but from a conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority, and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He ſent again to the conſul, and offered a more conſiderable tribute than had been impoſed upon Philip. When he ſaw the conſul would retract

* *Ita tum mos erat in adverſis vultum ſecundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in ſecundis.* Liv.

retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to succeed very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious Prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom, some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia.[n] After a long and vigorous defence it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one

[n] Liv. l. xlii, n. 64–67.

one day a thouſand carriages, laden principally with ſheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made ſix hundred priſoners. He afterwards attacked a ſmall body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himſelf maſter with little or no difficulty; but he found more reſiſtance than he had imagined. That ſmall body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himſelf there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than ſurrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the conſul arrived to his aſſiſtance with a great detachment of horſe and light-armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him. The ſight of the conſul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perſeus immediately ſent for his phalanx; but the conſul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous reſiſtance for ſome time, were at laſt broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the beſt horſe, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himſelf, Antimachus, was killed.

The ſucceſs of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perſeus. After having put a ſtrong garriſon into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The conſul having reduced Perrhœbia, and taken Lariſſa and ſome other cities, diſmiſſed all the allies, except the Achæans; diſperſed his troops in Theſſaly, where he left them in winter-quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the requeſt of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incurſions.

SECT. III. *The ſenate paſs a wiſe decree to put a ſtop to the avarice of the generals and magiſtrates, who oppreſſed the allies. The conſul Marcius, after ſuſtaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia. Perſeus takes the alarm, and leaves the paſſes open: He reſumes courage afterwards. Inſolent embaſſy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

NOTHING memorable paſſed the following year.[o] The conſul Hoſtilius had ſent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thouſand foot, to defend ſuch of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thouſand men, raiſed among the allies, to his firſt body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Daſſaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uſcana, which belonged to Perſeus, and where he had a great garriſon. Claudius, upon the promiſe which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it, with almoſt all his troops, without any order, diſtruſt, or precaution. Whilſt he thought leaſt of it, the garriſon made a furious ſally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and purſued them a great way with dreadful ſlaughter. Of eleven thouſand men, ſcarce two thouſand eſcaped into the camp, which a thouſand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loſs very much afflicted the ſenate, and the more, becauſe it had been occaſioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was[p] the almoſt univerſal diſeaſe of the commanders at that time. The ſenate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, againſt the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciouſneſs and cruelty. They puniſhed ſome of them, redreſſed the wrongs they had done

[o] A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.
[p] Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

done the cities, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors well ſatisfied with the manner in which their remonſtrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent ſuch diſorders for the future, they paſſed a decree, which expreſſed that the cities ſhould not furniſh the Roman magiſtrates with any thing more than what the ſenate expreſsly appointed; which ordinance was publiſhed in all the cities of Peloponneſus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commiſſion, went firſt to Thebes, where they very much praiſed the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponneſus, they boaſted every where of the lenity and moderation of the ſenate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great diviſions in almoſt all the cities, eſpecially among the Ætolians, occaſioned by two factions which divided them one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The aſſembly of Achaia was not exempt from theſe diviſions; but the wiſdom of the perſons of greateſt authority prevented their conſequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal perſons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers againſt the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which thoſe were fallen, who had not ſufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was reſolved, that Archon ſhould be made chief magiſtrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horſe.

About this time Attalus, having ſomething to demand of the Achæan league, cauſed the new magiſtrate to be ſounded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promiſed that prince to ſupport his ſuit with all his power. The affair in queſtion was, to have a decree reverſed, by which it was ordained, that all the ſtatues of king Eumenes ſhould be removed from the public places. At the

firſt

firſt council that was held the ambaſſadors of Attalus were introduced to the aſſembly, who demanded, that in conſideration for the prince who ſent them, Eumenes his brother ſhould be reſtored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon ſupported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius ſpoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and ſervices of Eumenes, demonſtrated the injuſtice of the firſt decree, and concluded that it was proper to repeal it. The whole aſſembly applauded his diſcourſe, and it was reſolved that Eumenes ſhould be reſtored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome [q] ſent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterpriſes againſt Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two conſuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he ſet out, Perſeus had conceived the deſign of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition againſt Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reaſon to fear irruptions during the king's being employed againſt the Romans. This expedition ſucceeded very happily for him, and almoſt without any loſs on his ſide. He began with the ſiege of Uſcana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of ſome duration. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of all the ſtrong places in the country, the moſt part of which had Roman garriſons in them, and took a great number of priſoners.

Perſeus, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averſe to it; but he obſerved that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was

[q] A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n 11, & 18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxvi, lxxviii.

was in no condition to declare againſt the Romans; which was explaining himſelf ſufficiently. Perſeus, who was avaricious, did not underſtand, or rather affected not to underſtand, his demand, and ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, without mention of money, and received the ſame anſwer. Polybius obſerves, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean ſoul, and entirely diſhonours a prince, made many of his enterpriſes miſcarry, and that if he would have ſacrificed certain ſums, and thoſe far from conſiderable, he might have engaged ſeveral republics and princes in his party. Can ſuch a blindneſs be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius conſiders it as a puniſhment from the Gods.

Perſeus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very ſtrong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would ſurrender it as ſoon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw ſuccours into the place.

Early in the ſpring the conſul Marcius left Rome, and went to Theſſaly, from whence, without loſing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully aſſured, that it was neceſſary to attack Perſeus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report [r] that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, to juſtify his country from the ſuſpicions and bad reports that had been propagated againſt it, adviſed the Achæans to paſs a decree, by which it ſhould be ordained, that they ſhould march an army into Theſſaly, and ſhare in all the dangers of the war, with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raiſe troops, and to make all the neceſſary preparations. It was afterwards reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the conſul, to acquaint him with the reſolution of the republic, and to

[r] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

to know from him where and when the Achæan army ſhould join him. Polybius, our hiſtorian, with ſome others, was charged with this embaſſy. They found the Romans had quitted Theſſaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was neceſſary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of ſpeaking to the conſul, and ſhared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perſeus, [t] who did not know what rout the conſul would take, had poſted conſiderable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to paſs. For himſelf, he encamped with the reſt of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much deſign.

Marcius, after long deliberation, reſolved to paſs the foreſt that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to ſurmount, the ways were ſo ſteep and impracticable, and had ſeiſed an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his paſſage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not diſtant above a thouſand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be diſcovered; which very much animated the ſoldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themſelves. Hippias, whom the king had poſted to defend this paſs, with a body of twelve thouſand men, ſeeing the eminence poſſeſſed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the conſul, who advanced with his whole army, haraſſed his troops for two days, and diſtreſſed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with ſafety, or retreat without ſhame or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to purſue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldneſs and temerity, and which could not ſucceed without a determinate perſeverance, often crowned in the end with

[t] Liv. l. xliv. n. 1 10.

with ſucceſs. It is certain that if the conſul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perſeus, inſtead of ſending freſh troops to ſupport Hippias, the cries of whoſe ſoldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in perſon to attack the enemy, amuſed himſelf with making uſeleſs excurſions, with his horſe, into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themſelves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horſes laden with the baggage ſinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almoſt every ſtep they took. The elephants eſpecially gave them great trouble: It was neceſſary to find ſome new means for their deſcent in ſuch extremely ſteep places. Having cleared the ſnow on theſe deſcents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the diſtance of ſomething more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon thoſe beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the firſt bridge, leaving ſome interval they erected a ſecond, then a third and ſo on to as many of the ſame kind as were neceſſary. The elephant paſſed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams inſenſibly that ſupported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the ſecond, and all the reſt. It is not eaſy to expreſs the fatigues they underwent in this paſs, the ſoldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, becauſe it was impoſſible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties

ficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

As the conſul [t] ſeemed then to have entirely overcome the greateſt difficulty of his enterpriſe, Polybius thought this a proper time for preſenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to aſſure him of their reſolution to join him with all their forces, and to ſhare with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindeſt terms, told them, they might ſpare themſelves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would diſpenſe with both; and that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, he had no occaſion for the aid of the allies. After this diſcourſe, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the conſul, having received advice that Appius, ſurnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thouſand men to be ſent him into Epirus, diſpatched him home, with advice, not to ſuffer his republic to furniſh thoſe troops, or engage in expences entirely unneceſſary, as Appius had no reaſon to demand that aid. It is difficult, ſays the hiſtorian, to diſcover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for ſparing the Achæans, or laying a ſnare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing.

Whilſt the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his reſolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the paſſes; ſent * the guilt ſtatues at Dium on board his fleet, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treaſures, laid up at

[t] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

* Theſe were the ſtatues of the horſe-ſoldiers killed in paſſing the Granicus, which Alexander had cauſed to be made by Lyſippus, and to be ſet up in Dium.

at Pella, ſhould be thrown into the ſea, and all his gallies at Theſſalonica burnt. For himſelf he returned to Pydna.

The conſul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impoſſible to diſengage himſelf without the enemy's permiſſion. There was no paſſing for him but by two foreſts; by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Tempe into Theſſaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both theſe important poſts, were poſſeſſed by ſtrong garriſons for the king. So that if Perſeus had only ſtaid ten days without taking fright, it had been impoſſible for the Romans to have entered Theſſaly by Tempe, and the conſul would have had no paſs for proviſions to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by ſuch vaſt precipices, that the eye could ſcarce ſuſtain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this paſs at four ſeveral places, of which the laſt was ſo narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive proviſions by the narrow paſſes of Tempe, nor to get through them, muſt have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which * would have been no leſs difficult, if the gods, ſays Livy, had not deprived Perſeus of prudence and counſel. For in making a foſſé with entrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have abſolutely ſhut them out, and ſtopped them ſhort. But in the blindneſs, into which his fear had thrown the king, he never ſaw nor did any thing of all the means in his power to ſave himſelf, left all the paſſes of his kingdom

* *Quod niſi dii mentem regi ademiſſent, ipſum ingentis difficultatis erat.* Liv.

kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The conſul perceived aright, that he owed his ſafety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Lariſſa, to ſeiſe the poſts bordering upon Tempe, which Perſeus had abandoned to ſecure a retreat in caſe of accident; and ſent Popilius to take a view of the paſſes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly ſurpriſed, that the king had abandoned it ſo eaſily. He continued his march, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, almoſt without any reſiſtance. But the farther he advanced, the leſs proviſions he found, and the more the dearth increaſed; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was alſo reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find proviſions in abundance. His quitting Dium ſuggeſted to Perſeus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had loſt by his fear. He repoſſeſſed himſelf therefore of that city, and ſoon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his ſide, beſieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league diſtant from Phila.

Perſeus having recovered his fright, and reſumed ſpirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treaſures at Pella into the ſea, and burn all his ſhips at Theſſalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might ſoon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, leſs aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the ſea. But his fault was ſoon repaired by divers, who brought up almoſt the whole money from the bottom of the ſea. To reward

ward their ſervices the king cauſed them all to be put to death ſecretly as he did Andronicus and Nicias; ſo much was he aſhamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himſelf, that he could not bear to have any witneſſes or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions paſſed on both ſides by ſea and land, which were neither of much conſequence nor importance.

When Polybius [w] returned from his embaſſy into Peloponneſus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thouſand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council aſſembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcuſable fault. On the other ſide, it was dangerous to refuſe the Romans the troops they might have occaſion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themſelves in ſo delicate a conjuncture, they had recourſe to the decree of the Roman ſenate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unleſs an order of the ſenate was annexed to them, which Appius had not ſent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was ſent to Appius, it was neceſſary to inform the conſul of his demand, and to wait for his deciſion upon it. By that means Polybius ſaved the Achæans the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns at leaſt.

In the mean time [x] arrived ambaſſadors at Rome, from Pruſias, king of Bithynia, and alſo from the Rhodians, in favour of Perſeus. The former expreſſed themſelves very modeſtly, declaring that Pruſias had conſtantly adhered to the Roman party, and ſhould continue to do ſo during the war; but that having promiſed Perſeus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he deſired, if it were poſſible, that they would grant him that favour, and make ſuch uſe of his mediation as they ſhould

[w] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. [x] Liv. l. xliv. n. 14—16.

ſhould think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having ſet forth, in a lofty ſtyle, the ſervices they had done the Roman people, and aſcribed to themſelves the greateſt ſhare in the victories they had obtained, and eſpecially in that over Antiochus, they added: that whilſt the peace ſubſiſted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negociated a treaty of alliance with Perſeus; that they had ſuſpended it againſt their will, and without any ſubject of complaint on the king's part, becauſe it had pleaſed the Romans to engage them on their ſide; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had ſuffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by ſea being interrupted, the iſland found itſelf in great ſtraits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages ariſing from commerce; that being no longer able to ſupport ſuch conſiderable loſſes they had ſent ambaſſadors into Macedonia, to king Perſeus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it neceſſary that he ſhould make peace with the Romans, and that they were alſo ſent to Rome to make the ſame declaration; that if either of the parties refuſed to come into ſo reaſonable a propoſal the Rhodians ſhould know what they had to do.

It is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a diſcourſe was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, all the anſwer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the ſenate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their preſence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part, for they pretended to an authority over both thoſe people. Others ſay the ſenate anſwered in few words: that the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intrigues with Perſeus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people ſhould have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they ſhould know in their turn what they had to do, and ſhould then treat their allies according to their reſpective

merits. They made the ambaſſadors, however, the uſual preſents.

The conſul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia after having ſuffered incredible difficulties in paſſing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wiſe precaution of the prætor he had ſufficient proviſions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley, for which it was neceſſary to pay their ambaſſadors then at Rome: That it was alſo neceſſary to ſend him clothes for the ſoldiers; that he wanted two hundred horſe, eſpecially from Numidia, becauſe there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All theſe articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Oneſimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always adviſed the king to obſerve the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the laſt day of his life, had cauſed his treaty with the Romans to be conſtantly read to him twice every day, he had admoniſhed him to do as much, if not with the ſame regularity, at leaſt from time to time. Not being able to diſſuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himſelf from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witneſs to the reſolutions taken in them which he could not approve. At length, ſeeing himſelf become ſuſpected, and tacitly conſidered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongſt the Romans, and had been of great ſervice to the conſul. Having made this relation to the ſenate they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his ſubſiſtence.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter-quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.*

THE time for the comitia, [z] or assemblies to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly

 distinguished

z A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

diſtinguiſhed that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was neceſſary to chooſe a general for his wiſdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of preſiding in ſo important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world caſt their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when diſtinguiſhed merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than ſuch a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's paſt ſervices, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the ſtate's preſſing occaſion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near ſixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the leaſt, had rather improved them with maturity of wiſdom and judgment; more neceſſary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been conſul thirteen years before and had acquired the general eſteem during his adminiſtration. But the people repaid his ſervices with ingratitude, having refuſed to raiſe him again to the ſame dignity, though he had ſolicited it with ſufficient ardour. For ſeveral years he had led a private and retired life, ſolely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever ſucceeded better, nor was more gloriouſly rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made inſtances to him to comply with the people's wiſhes in taking upon him the conſulſhip: but believing himſelf no longer capable of commanding he avoided appearing in public, kept himſelf at home, and ſhunned honours with as much ſolicitude as others generally purſue them. However, when he ſaw the people aſſemble every morning in crowds before his door, that they ſummoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly againſt his obſtinate refuſal to ſerve his country, he gave in at laſt to their remonſtrances, and appearing amongſt thoſe who aſpired to that dignity he ſeemed leſs to receive the command of the army than to give the people the aſſurance of an approaching and complete victory. The conſulſhip was conferred upon him unanimouſly, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia

decreed

decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on seeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, "You do not know then," said she, "that our Perseus is dead, papa." She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. "And at a very good time, my dear child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word, "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner [a] in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet; and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprised in all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures

[a] Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Emil. p. 260.

ſures very much, and appointed commiſſioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius who ſet out two days after.

During their abſence, audience was given the ambaſſadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjuſt enterpriſes of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commiſſioners had made good uſe of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the paſſes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual poſſeſſion of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being ſeparated only by the river Enipæus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: that to the other inconveniences, a very ſevere winter had happened, from which they could not but ſuffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and, that they had only proviſions for ſix days: that the army of the Macedonians was ſuppoſed to amount to thirty thouſand men: that if Appius Claudius had been ſufficiently ſtrong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect againſt king Gentius; but that Claudius, and his troops, were actually in great danger, unleſs a conſiderable re-inforcement were immediately ſent him, or he ordered directly to quit the poſt he was in. That after having viſited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diſeaſes; that the reſt of the allies, eſpecially thoſe of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of ſeamen and ſoldiers: that thoſe who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having juſt ſhown themſelves, diſappeared immediately, without any viſible cauſe; and that it ſeemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: but that as for his brother Attalus his good-will was not to be doubted.

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Upon this report of the commiſſioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the ſenate decreed, that he ſhould ſet forward without loſs of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to ſucceed Ap. Claudius, in his poſt near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius conſiſted, amounted to twenty-five thouſand eight hundred men; that is, of two Roman legions, each compoſed of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horſe. He had, beſides, ſix hundred horſe raiſed in Gallia Ciſalpina, and ſome auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Aſia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thouſand men. The prætor Anicius had alſo two legions; but they conſiſted of only five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe each; which, with ten thouſand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horſe, compoſed the army under him of twenty-one thouſand two hundred men. The troops that ſerved on board the fleet were five thouſand men. Theſe three bodies together made fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, ſeemed of the laſt conſequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the ſucceſs of it. The conſul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to ſerve in it, and each commanded in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed that none ſhould be elected into this employment, but ſuch as had already ſerved, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chooſe out of all the tribunes ſuch as he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two legions.

It muſt be allowed the Romans acted with great wiſdom upon this occaſion. They had, as we have ſeen, unanimouſly choſen conſul and general, the perſon amongſt them who was indiſputably the greateſt captain of his time. They had reſolved that no officers ſhould be raiſed to the poſt of tribune, but ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed

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by their merit, experience, and capacity, inſtanced in real ſervice; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or ſeniority; to which, indeed the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chooſe ſuch of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who ſerve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the ſoul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the beſt underſtanding between them, founded in a paſſion for the public good, with which neither intereſt, jealouſy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all theſe regulations were made, the conſul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the ſenate to the aſſembly of the people, to whom he ſpoke in this manner: "You ſeem "to me, Romans, to have expreſſed more joy when "Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected "conſul, or entered upon that office; and to me your "joy ſeemed to be occaſioned by the hopes you conceived "that I ſhould put an end, worthy of the grandeur and "reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in "your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. "I have reaſon to believe, that the ſame gods,* who "have occaſioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will alſo "aſſiſt me with their protection in conducting and ter"minating this war ſucceſsfully: but of this I may ven"ture to aſſure you, that I ſhall do my utmoſt not to fall "ſhort of your expectations. The ſenate has wiſely "regulated every thing neceſſary in the expedition I am "charged with; and, as I am ordered to ſet out imme"diately, I ſhall make no delay, and know that my col"league C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the pub"lic ſervice, will raiſe and march off the troops ap"pointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition, "as if they were for himſelf. I ſhall take care to remit to

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the divinity preſides over chance.

" to you, as well as to the ſenate, an exact account of " all that paſſes; and you may rely upon the certainty and " truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as a great fa- " vour, that you will not give credit to, or lay any weight " out of credulity upon the light reports, which are fre- " quently ſpread abroad without any author. I perceive " well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever " reſolution people may form to obviate theſe rumours, " they will not fail to make impreſſion, and inſpire I " know not what diſcouragement. There are thoſe, who " in company, and even at table, command armies, " make diſpoſitions, and preſcribe all the operations of " the campaign. They know better than we where we " ſhould encamp, and what poſts it is neceſſary for us " to ſeiſe: at what time, and by what defile we ought " to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to have ma- " gazines; from whence, either by ſea or land we are " to bring proviſions; when we are to fight the enemy, " and when lie ſtill. They not only preſcribe what is " beſt to do, but for deviating ever ſo little from their " plans, they make it a crime in their conſul, and cite " him before their tribunal. But know Romans, this " is of very bad effect with your generals. All have " not the reſolution and conſtancy of Fabius, to deſpiſe " impertinent reports. He could chooſe rather to ſuf- " fer the people upon ſuch unhappy rumours to invade " his authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preſerve " their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from " believing, that generals ſtand in no need of advice: " I think on the contrary, that whoever would conduct " every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without " counſel, ſhows more preſumption than prudence. But " ſome may aſk, How then ſhall we act reaſonably? In " not ſuffering any perſons to obtrude their advice upon " your generals, but ſuch as are, in the firſt place, verſed " in the art of war, and have learned from experience " what it is to command; and in the ſecond, who are " upon the ſpot, who know the enemy, are witneſſes in " perſon to all that paſſes, and ſharers with us in all dan- " gers. If there be any one who conceives himſelf

" capable of aſſiſting me with his counſels in the war " you have charged me with, let him not refuſe to do " the republic that ſervice, but let him go with me into " Macedonia; ſhips, horſes, tents, proviſions, ſhall all " be ſupplied him at my charge. But if he will not " take ſo much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of " the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let " him not take upon him to hold the helm, and con- " tinue idle in the port. The city of itſelf ſupplies " ſufficient matter of diſcourſe on other ſubjects; but " as for theſe, let it be ſilent upon them, and know, " that we ſhall pay no regard to any counſels, but ſuch " as ſhall be given us in the camp itſelf."

This diſcourſe of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reaſon and good ſenſe, ſhows that men are the ſame in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticiſing, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not obſerve, that doing ſo is a manifeſt contradiction to reaſon and juſtice: to reaſon; for what can be more abſurd and ridiculous, than to ſee perſons, without any knowledge or experience in war, ſet themſelves up for cenſors of the moſt able generals, and pronounce with a magiſterial air upon their actions? to juſtice; for the moſt experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the ſpot: the leaſt circumſtance of time, place, diſpoſition of the troops, ſecret orders not divulged, being capable of making an abſolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we muſt not expect to ſee a failing reformed, that has its ſource in the curioſity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wiſely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to deſpiſe theſe city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing elſe to do, and have generally as little judgment as buſineſs.

Paulus Æmilius,[b] after having diſcharged, according to cuſtom, the duties of religion, ſet out for Macedonia,

[b] Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

nia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilſt they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perſeus, on his ſide, had not been aſleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is, three hundred thouſand crowns) and purchaſed his alliance at that price.

He ſent ambaſſadors at the ſame time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that iſland, very powerful at that time by ſea, ſhould embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarraſſed. He ſent deputies alſo to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perſeus did wiſely in having recourſe to theſe meaſures, and in endeavouring to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſuch ſupports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking thoſe ſteps, and to have made them the firſt foundations of his enterpriſe. He did not think of putting thoſe remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almoſt to extremity, and his affairs next to abſolutely deſperate. It was rather calling in ſpectators and aſſociates of his ruin, than aids and ſupports. The inſtructions which he gave his ambaſſadors were very ſolid and perſuaſive, as we are about to ſee; but he ſhould have made uſe of them three years ſooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almoſt alone, in the war againſt ſo powerful a people, with ſo many reſources in caſe of misfortune.

The ambaſſadors had the ſame inſtructions for both thoſe kings. They repreſented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themſelves to ruin them one after another. That they had cruſhed his father by the aſſiſtance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in ſome meaſure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been ſubjected, and that at preſent they had armed Eumenes and Pruſias againſt himſelf. That after

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the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be deſtroyed, Aſia would be the next to experience the ſame fate; of which they had already uſurped a part, under the ſpecious colour of re-eſtabliſhing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would ſoon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Pruſias to Eumenes by particular diſtinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perſeus requeſted of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they perſevered in the unjuſt deſign of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambaſſadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reſerve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ranſoming priſoners, and treated only in ſecret upon the real cauſe of it. There had paſſed already ſeveral conferences, at different times and places, upon the ſame ſubject, which had began to render that prince very much ſuſpected by the Romans. It was not becauſe Eumenes deſired at bottom, that Perſeus ſhould be victorious againſt the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealouſy; neither was he more willing to declare openly againſt, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to ſee the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perſeus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befal him; the Romans, from being weary of a war ſpun out to too great a length; he deſired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perſeus purchaſe his mediation, or at leaſt his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thouſand crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in ſettling the time for the payment of that ſum. Perſeus was for waiting till the ſervice took effect, and in the mean time offered to depoſite the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himſelf ſecure in that, becauſe Samothracia depended on Perſeus, and therefore he inſiſted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He

He failed likewiſe in another negociation, which might have been no leſs in his favour. He had cauſed a body of Gauls to come from the other ſide of the Danube, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe and as many foot, aud had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horſeman, five to the infantry, and a thouſand to their captains. I have obſerved above, that theſe Gauls had taken the name of Baſtarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in towns and villages, through which they were to paſs, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, ſhould be provided for them; he had preſents for their principal officers, of horſes, arms, and habits; to theſe he added ſome money, which was to be diſtributed amongſt a ſmall number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues diſtant from him. Antigonus was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw men of prodigious ſtature, ſkilful in all the exerciſes of the body, and in handling their arms: and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He ſet off, in the beſt terms, the orders his maſter had given for their good reception wherever they paſſed, and the preſents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to ſend their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of theſe ſtrangers, came directly to the point; and aſked, whether he had brought the ſum agreed on. As no anſwer was given to that queſtion, "Go," ſaid he, "and let your prince know, that till he ſends the hoſtages and ſums agreed on, the Gauls will not ſtir from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, aſſembled his council. He foreſaw what they would adviſe; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to diſguiſe his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding,

ing, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negociated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised

promiſed him. Gentius diſpatched his ambaſſadors, and with them the perſons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them alſo, when all ſhould be concluded, to join Perſeus's ambaſſadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had repreſented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head againſt the three powers united. Perſeus received thoſe ambaſſadors with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. After the exchange of hoſtages, and the taking of oaths on both ſides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambaſſadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into cheſts, under the ſeal of the ambaſſadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perſeus had given orders underhand to the perſons charged with this convoy, to march ſlowly, and by ſmall journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to ſtop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made preſſing inſtances to the king to declare againſt the Romans by ſome act of hoſtility. In the mean while arrived ambaſſadors from the Romans, to negociate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earneſt, and advice that the whole ſum was upon the road. Upon the repeated ſolicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he cauſed the two ambaſſadors to be impriſoned, under pretence that they were ſpies. As ſoon as Perſeus had received this news, believing him ſufficiently and irretrievably engaged againſt the Romans by ſo glaring an act, he recalled thoſe who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himſelf in ſecret, upon the good ſucceſs of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in ſaving his money. But he did not ſee that he only kept it in reſerve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himſelf againſt him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his ſon Alexander, the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors, who uſed to ſay, "That victory ſhould be purchaſed with "money, and not money ſaved at the expence of victory."

The

The ambaſſadors of Perſeus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had reſolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare againſt that which ſhould refuſe to accept propoſals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their poſts in the beginning of the ſpring; the conſul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The ſucceſs of the laſt was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war againſt Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had ſurrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities ſoon followed its example. Gentius himſelf was reduced to come, and throw himſelf at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confeſſing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His firſt care was to take the two ambaſſadors out of priſon. He ſent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and ſome days after cauſed Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The ſight of ſuch illuſtrious priſoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thankſgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vaſt concourſe of perſons of all ſexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perſeus encamped near the ſea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which ſeemed inacceſſible. He had the Enipæus in front, whoſe banks were very high; and on the ſide where he lay he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from ſpace to ſpace, on which were placed baliſtæ, and other machines for diſcharging darts and ſtones upon the enemy if they ventured to approach. Perſeus had fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, as made him believe himſelf entirely ſecure;

and gave him hopes to weaken, and at laſt repulſe, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to ſubſiſt his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adverſary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts ſolely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and meaſures for executing ſome enterprize with ſucceſs. He began by eſtabliſhing an exact and ſevere diſcipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licence wherein it had been ſuffered to live. He reformed ſeveral things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops as the duty of centinels. It had been a cuſtom amongſt the ſoldiers to criticiſe upon their general, to examine all his actions amongſt themſelves, to preſcribe his conduct, and to explain upon what he ſhould or ſhould not do. He ſpoke to them with reſolution and dignity. He gave them to underſtand, that ſuch diſcourſes did not become a ſoldier, that he ought to make only three things his buſineſs; the care of his body, in order to render it robuſt and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and of his proviſions,* that he might be always in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice; that for the reſt, he ought to rely upon the goodneſs of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himſelf, he ſhould omit nothing that might be neceſſary to give them occaſion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the ſignal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this diſcourſe. The old ſoldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A ſurprizing change was immediately obſerved in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The ſoldiers were ſeen ſharpening their ſwords, poliſhing their helmets, cuiraſſes, and ſhields; practiſing an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandiſhing their naked ſwords; in ſhort, forming and enuring themſelves in all military exerciſes;

* The Roman ſoldiers ſometimes carried proviſion for ten or twelve days.

erciſes; ſo that it was eaſy to foreſee, that upon the firſt opportunity they ſhould have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was ſituated very commodiouſly, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whoſe thoughts extended to every thing, ſeeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flouriſhing, judged from the quantity and quality of thoſe trees, that there muſt be ſprings of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the ſame time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the ſand. The ſurface* was ſcarce broke up, when ſprings of water were ſeen to run, muddy at firſt, and in ſmall quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the ſoldiers as a ſingular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and reſpected by them than before.

When Perſeus ſaw what paſſed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the ſoldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exerciſes, by which they prepared themſelves for combat, he began to be greatly diſquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, an Hoſtilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his ſide, animated his ſoldiers, employed himſelf in forming them by different exerciſes, added new works to the old, and uſed all means to put his camp out of danger or inſult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This cauſed incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongſt the ſoldiers an inexpreſſible ardour to ſignalize themſelves alſo on their ſide. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be

* *Vix deducta ſumma arena erat, cum ſcaturgenes turbidæ primo & tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ & auctoritatis apud milites adjecit.* Liv.

be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought he best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To shew how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions: for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the eldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were,

were, had been to expoſe his troops to inevitable ſlaughter; and a good general ſpares the blood of his ſoldiers, becauſe he looks upon himſelf as their father, and believes it his duty to preſerve them as his children. He kept quiet, therefore, for ſome days, without making the leaſt motion. Plutarch ſays, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies ſo numerous, that lay ſo long in the preſence of each other, in ſuch profound peace, and ſo perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the ſoldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquieſce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and uſing all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants, whoſe prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town ſituate upon the brow of mount* Olympus: that this way was not of difficult acceſs, but was well guarded. Perſeus had ſent thither a detachment of five thouſand men. He conceived, that in cauſing this poſt to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take poſſeſſion of it. It was neceſſary, therefore, to amuſe the enemy, and to conceal his real deſign. He ſent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himſelf to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days proviſion with him for a thouſand men; in order to make Perſeus believe, that he was going to ravage the ſea coaſt. At the ſame time he made his ſon Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Naſica, the ſon-in-law of Scipio Africanus, ſet out: he gave them a detachment of five thouſand choſen troops, and ordered them to march by the ſea-ſide towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been propoſed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the conſul's orders. As ſoon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coaſt, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was ſituated, was upwards of ten ſtadia, or half a league.

mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded, that they ſhould arrive there the third day day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuſe the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a ſlight engagement in the courſe of the river itſelf, which was then very low. The banks on each ſide, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the ſtream was a thouſand paces broad. The action paſſed in the ſight of the king and conſul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The conſul cauſed the retreat to be ſounded towards noon. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides. The next day the battle was renewed in the ſame manner, and almoſt at the ſame hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only thoſe upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and ſtones upon them. The conſul loſt abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay ſtill, and ſeemed to deſign to attempt a paſſage near the ſea. Perſeus did not ſuſpect in the leaſt the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reaſon he made them reſt themſelves the remainder of the night. Perſeus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a ſudden a Cretan deſerter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, rouſed him from his ſecurity, by letting him know the compaſs the Romans had taken to ſurprize him. The king terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thouſand foreign ſoldiers, with two thouſand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all poſſible diligence to take poſſeſſion of an eminence, which the Romans had ſtill to paſs, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement enſued upon this eminence, and the victory was for ſome time in ſuſpence.

But

But the king's detachment at length gave way on all ſides, and were put to the rout. Scipio purſued them vigorouſly, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When thoſe who fled came to the camp of Perſeus, they occaſioned ſo great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, ſeized with fear, and almoſt in deſpair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper meaſures. The queſtion was, whether it was beſt to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, ſupply them well with proviſions, and expect the enemy there, who could not ſubſiſt long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waſte, and could furniſh neither forage for the horſe, nor proviſions for the men. The latter reſolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the laſt extremity, without either hope or reſource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded but executed in perſon. Whilſt Perſeus, uncertain what to reſolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers repreſented to him, that his army was much ſuperior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himſelf witneſs of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. Theſe reaſons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, aſſigned every one his poſt, and gave all orders with great preſence of mind; reſolved to attack the Romans as ſoon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there was a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a ſecure retreat, and alſo a means to conceal their marching to ſurround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two ſmall rivers, which had not much water

at that time, in conſequence of the ſeaſon (for it was then about the end of ſummer) but whoſe ſteep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle againſt the enemy; keeping always on the ſea coaſt, for the convenience of having proviſions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had conſidered the good diſpoſition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do.

The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whoſe boldneſs was increaſed by his late ſucceſs upon mount Olympus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his earneſtneſs, and the preſſing inſtances he made. He repreſented to him, that the generals, his predeceſſors, had ſuffered the enemy to eſcape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perſeus would fly in the night, and they ſhould be obliged to purſue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remoteſt parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compaſſes through defiles and foreſts, as had happened in the preceding years. He adviſed him therefore, whilſt the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion of conquering him.

"Formerly (replied the conſul to young Scipio) I "thought as you do now, and one day you will think "as I do. I ſhall give you the reaſons of my conduct "another time; at preſent ſatisfy yourſelf, and rely "upon the diſcretion of an old general." The young officer was ſilent, well convinced that the conſul had good reaſons for acting as he did.

After having ſpoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to preſent a front, as if they intended to engage. They were diſpoſed, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, in three lines: at the

the ſame time the pioneers,[c] covered by thoſe lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was ſoon completed. The conſul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was neareſt the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confuſion, diſorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his ſide, ſeeing the Romans declined fighting, retired alſo into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongſt the Romans, though they were to ſtay only one day and night in a place, to encloſe themſelves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themſelves out of inſult, and avoided all ſurprize. The ſoldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments ſerved inſtead of walls, and the tents, of houſes. In caſe of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp ſerved for their retreat and refuge; and, if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and ſecurity.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreſhment, whilſt they had no other thoughts than of going to reſt, on a ſudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour ſeveral times, and was at length totally eclipſed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having aſſembled the ſoldiers, with the conſul's permiſſion, had appriſed them of the eclipſe, and ſhewn them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman ſoldiers therefore were not aſtoniſhed at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were ſeiſed with horror and dread; and it was whiſpered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The

[c] Haſtati Principes Triarii.

* *Majores veſtri caſtra munita portum ad omnes caſus exercitûs ducebant eſſe.—Patria altera eſt militaris hæc ſedes, valliumque pro mœnibus & tenterium ſuum cuique militi domus ac penates ſunt.—Caſtra ſunt victori receptaculum victo perfugium.* Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious obſerver of all the ceremonies preſcribed for the ſacrifices, or rather very ſuperſtitious, applied himſelf to offering oxen to Hercules. He ſacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable ſign in the entrails of thoſe victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he ſaw ſuch as promiſed him the victory, if he only defended himſelf, without attacking the enemy. At the ſame time he vowed a ſacrifice to the ſame god of an hundred oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all theſe religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he aſſembled his council. He had heard complaints of his ſlowneſs in attacking the enemy. He deſired therefore to give the aſſembly an account of his conduct, eſpecially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promiſed it. The reaſons for his not having given battle the day before, were; firſt, becauſe the enemy's army was much ſuperior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken conſiderably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the ſecond place, would it have conſiſted with prudence to engage troops entirely freſh with his, exhauſted as they were by a long and painful march, by the exceſſive weight of their arms, by the heat of the ſun, with which they had been almoſt broiled, and by thirſt, which gave them almoſt inſupportable pain? In the laſt place he inſiſted ſtrongly on the indiſpenſable neceſſity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-intrenched camp behind him, which might, in caſe of accident, ſerve the army for a retreat. He concluded his diſcourſe with bidding them prepare for battle the ſame day.

We ſee here,* that there is a wide difference between the duty of ſoldiers and ſubaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to deſire and behave well in battle; but the general's buſineſs is to foreſee, weigh,

* *Diviſa inter exercitum ducesq. munia. Militibus expidiem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, conſultando, cunctatione ſæpiusquam celeritate proſeſſe.* TACIT. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 20.

weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance, to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much

more

more by his example. The general, more than ſixty years of age, was ſeen expoſing himſelf to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmoſt endeavours, one of their officers took the enſign of his company, and toſſed it into the midſt of the enemy. The reſt threw themſelves, in conſequence, like deſperate men, upon that battalion. Aſtoniſhing actions enſued on both ſides, with a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their ſwords, and to puſh them back with their bucklers; ſtriving ſometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aſide, in order to open themſelves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping cloſe order, and holding their pikes in both hands, preſented that iron rampart, and gave thoſe ſuch great ſtrokes that flung upon them, that, piercing ſhields and cuiraſſes, they laid the boldeſt of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to ruſh headlong, like wild beaſts, on the ſpears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they ſaw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into diſorder, the ſecond was diſcouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, inſtead of advancing, they retreated toward mount *Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius ſaw that, he tore his clothes, and was ſtruck with extreme ſorrow to ſee, upon the firſt troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It preſented a front covered thick with pikes, and cloſe as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius obſerved the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one ſide, whilſt it advanced on the other;

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

which muſt neceſſarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the ſame vigour, fight alſo with different ſucceſs.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void ſpaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by ſmall detachments, and in different places at the ſame time. This order, given ſo critically, occaſioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void ſpaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to uſe their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an inſtant, and all its force, which conſiſted ſolely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vaniſhed and diſappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their ſhort ſwords ſtruck upon the Roman ſhields, which were very ſtrong and ſolid, and covered them almoſt from head to foot; on the contrary, they oppoſed ſmall bucklers againſt the ſwords of the Romans, which were heavy and ſtrong, and handled with ſuch force and vigour, that they ſcarce diſcharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make ſhields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having loſt their advantage, and being taken on their weak ſide, reſiſted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himſelf to his fear, rode off full ſpeed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a ſacrifice to Hercules; as if, ſays Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the ſacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjuſt vows; for it is not juſt that he ſhould be victorious, who durſt not face his enemy: whereas the ſame god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, becauſe he aſked victory with ſword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmeſt, and where the Romans found the greateſt reſiſtance.

reſiſtance. It was there, alſo, that the ſon of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's ſon-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily loſt his ſword, which ſlipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himſelf and inconſolable, he ran through the ranks, and aſſembling a body of brave and reſolute young ſoldiers, he ruſhed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a moſt bloody ſlaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining maſters of the ground, they applied themſelves in ſearching for the ſword, which they found at laſt under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Tranſported with that good fortune, and raiſing ſhouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon ſuch of the enemy as ſtood firm; ſo that at length the three thouſand Macedonians who remained, and were a diſtinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceaſing to fight to the laſt moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the reſt fled, and ſo great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans paſſed the river Leucus, they found the waters ſtill ſtained with their blood. It is ſaid that five-and-twenty thouſand men on the ſide of the Macedonians periſhed in this battle. The Romans loſt only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thouſand priſoners. The cavalry, which had no ſhare in this battle, ſeeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour againſt the phalanx, did not think at that time of purſuing them.

This great battle was decided ſo ſuddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The reſt of the day was employed in the purſuit, which was carried very far; ſo that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the ſervants in the army went out to meet their maſters with great ſhouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of *ivy and crowns of laurel.

But

* This was a cuſtom among the Romans. Cæſar writes in the

But in the midſt of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two ſons he had in the battle, the youngeſt, who was but ſeventeen years old, and whom he loved with moſt tenderneſs, becauſe he had already given great hopes of himſelf, did not appear. The camp was in univerſal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful ſilence. They ſearched for him with torches amongſt the dead, but to no purpoſe. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they deſpaired of ever ſeeing him more, he returned from the purſuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taſte the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reſerved for other tears, and ruins no leſs to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we ſpeak, was the ſecond Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the ſon of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The conqueror immediately diſpatched three couriers of diſtinction (of whom his ſon Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perſeus, continuing his flight, had paſſed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horſe, which had eſcaped from the battle without ſtriking a blow. The foot-ſoldiers that fled in diſorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the ſharpeſt terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their reſentment further, they pulled them off their horſes, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the conſequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to diſcourſe with his friends with the more eaſe, he alighted, and led his horſe in his hand. Several of thoſe who

third book of the civil war, "that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and ſome others, covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.*

who attended him took different routs from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped [d] at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable

[d] Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æm. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

derable birth and condition. He could not forbear ſhedding tears when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the preſent condition of Perſeus was a ſenſible example. But when he ſaw this title and inſcription upon the letter, *Perſeus the king, to the conſul Paulus Æmilius, greeting;* the ſtupid ignorance that prince ſeemed to be in of his condition, extinguiſhed in him all ſenſe of compaſſion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and ſuppliant ſtyle, and little conſiſted with the royal dignity, he diſmiſſed the deputies without an anſwer. How haughty were theſe proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perſeus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a ſecond letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to treat with him, which was granted. This negociation had no effect, becauſe, on the one ſide, Perſeus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, inſiſted, that he ſhould ſubmit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perſeus by force out of that aſylum, in reſpect to the gods who preſided in it; but he endeavoured by promiſes and threats to induce him to quit it, and ſurrender himſelf to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himſelf, or in concert with the prætor, took another courſe to draw the king out of his ſanctuary. In the aſſembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he ſaid to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your iſland "is held a ſacred and inviolable aſylum throughout all "its extent?" Upon being anſwered by all preſent, that it was undoubtedly ſo. "How then (continued he) "do you ſuffer its ſanctity to be violated by an homicide, "contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And "as all religious ceremonies begin by the excluſion of "thoſe whoſe hands are impure, how can you ſuffer your

"very

"very temple to be profaned and defiled by the preſence of "an infamous murderer?" This accuſation fell upon Perſeus; but the Samothracians choſe rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes. They ſent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accuſed of aſſaſſination, and that he ſhould appear, according to the cuſtom of their ſanctuary, to juſtify himſelf before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he ſhould take meaſures for his ſafety, and quit the temple. The king having ſent for Evander, adviſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms not to ſubmit to that ſentence. He had his reaſons for giving this counſel, apprehending he would declare, that the aſſaſſination had been undertaken by his orders, and therefore gave him to underſtand, that the only method he could take was to kill himſelf. Evander ſeemed at firſt to conſent to it, and profeſſing, that he had rather die by poiſon than the ſword, he intended to make his eſcape by flight. The king was aware of that deſign, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their reſentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the puniſhment he deſerved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the ſanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magiſtrate with preſents of money, who declared in the aſſembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himſelf.

The prætor, not being able to perſuade Perſeus to quit his aſylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his eſcape. However, notwithſtanding his precautions, Perſeus gained ſecretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ſhip, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treaſures; they amounted to two thouſand talents, that is, to about three hundred thouſand pounds. But, ſuſpicious as he was, he did not diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the whole; he ſent only a part of it to the ſhip, and reſerved the reſt of it to be carried on board with himſelf. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occaſion, ſhipped all the gold and ſilver that had been ſent him in the even-

ing, and let Perſeus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and ſuch of his people as were abſolutely neceſſary to attend his perſon.

The appointed time approaching, Perſeus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, croſſed a garden, and got out through a ruinous houſe, with his wife and ſon. The remainder of his treaſures followed him. His grief and deſpair was inexpreſſible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under ſail. He had intruſted his other children to Ion of Theſſalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cauſe that induced Perſeus to put himſelf into the power of thoſe who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly ſurrendered himſelf and Philip his ſon to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the conſul; having firſt appriſed him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius ſent his ſon-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perſeus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his ſon. The conſul, who waited for him with a ſufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival roſe from his ſeat, and advancing ſome few ſteps, offered him his hand. Perſeus threw himſelf at his feet; but he raiſed him immediately, and would not ſuffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him ſit down, facing thoſe who formed the aſſembly.

He began by aſking him; "What cauſe of diſcontent "had induced him to enter with ſo much animoſity into "a war with the Roman people, that expoſed himſelf "and his kingdom to the greateſt dangers?" When, inſtead of the anſwer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and ſhedding tears, kept ſilence. Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you aſcended the throne a youth, I ſhould be leſs "ſurpriſed at your being ignorant of what it was to have "the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But "having

" having been present in the war made by your father " against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which " we have punctually observed on our side, how could " you prefer war, rather than peace, with a people whose " force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had " so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: " In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding (resumed the " consul) these affairs have happened, whether they are " the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or " of chance; or that fatal destiny which superintends all " things, take courage. The clemency with which the " Roman people have behaved in regard to many other " kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say " with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence " that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then, turning towards the Romans, " You* see (said he in his own language) " a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It " is to you principally, young Romans, I address this " discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to " us every day ought to teach us never to use any one " with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely " too much upon our present advantages. The proof of " real merit and true valour is neither to be too elate in " good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious

 both

* *Exemplum infigne cernitis*, inquit, *mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipuè dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus, nihil in quemquam superbè ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cum, quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet*, Liv.

both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had [b] reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who took each part to himself, subsisted during something more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands and cries of victory throughout

[b] Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Livy, such as we have him, says the *twentieth*. Justin the *thirtieth*. It is thought there is an error on the cypher, and that it should be corrected, the *fortieth*, with Eusebius.

throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory, which either was already, or perhaps would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed to the republic.

After the nomination of [c] new consuls, at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius: ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free, in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Romans, or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land estates, because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called

[c] A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

called publicans; and that wherever ſuch ſort* of farmers are ſuffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppreſſed. They eſtabliſhed a general council for the nation, leſt the populace ſhould cauſe the liberty granted them by the ſenate to degenerate into a deſtructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions, each of which had a diſtinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accuſtomed to pay their kings. Theſe were in part the orders with which the commiſſioners for Macedonia were charged. Thoſe for Illyria had almoſt the ſame inſtructions, and arrived there firſt. After having communicated their commiſſion to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they ſummoned an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the nation. Anicius, having aſcended his tribunal, declared to them, that the ſenate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garriſons ſhould be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as ſoon as poſſible. In regard to ſome people, who either before or during the war had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; and all the reſt were diſcharged from one half of the impoſts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magiſtrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia [d] arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leiſure, viſited, during the autumn, the moſt celebrated cities of Greece, to ſee thoſe things with his own eyes which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he ſet out with a ſmall train, accompanied by young Scipio his ſon, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He paſſed through Theſſaly, in his way to Delphos, the moſt celebrated oracle in the univerſe. The multitude and

[d] Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* *Et ubi publicanus eſt, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem ſociis nullam eſſe.* Liv.

and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilocus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræeus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent Philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting; a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience and the approbation of

* For an account of this oracle, see Book xi. Chap. iii. Sect. ii.

of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have not only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of

* *P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus similimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit.* PATERC. l. i. c. 12.

of rich preſents, the offerings of ſick perſons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not diſtinguiſhed by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wiſdom of its laws, cuſtoms, and diſcipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he ſaw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he caſt his eyes upon the ſtatue of Jupiter, Phidias's maſter-piece, he was as much ſtruck, ſays Livy, as if he had ſeen the god himſelf, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer* *. Imagining himſelf in the Capitol, he offered a more ſolemn ſacrifice here than he had done any where elſe.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himſelf any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perſeus, and to avoid giving the allies any cauſe of diſcontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commiſſioners had already paſſed the ſea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much ſurpriſed to meet Perſeus there, whom his guards ſuffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whoſe care he had confided that important priſoner. He put him, with Philip his ſon, into the hands of Poſthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger ſon, he cauſed them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered ſuch care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The

* To have ſo well expreſſed the idea of Homer is highly to the praiſe of Phidias; but the having ſo well conceived all the majeſty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

The commiſſioners [e] being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the aſſembly, where a great number of Macedonians were preſent, he took his ſeat in his tribunal, and after having cauſed ſilence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the ſenate and by himſelf, in conjunction with the commiſſioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it ſhould pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the ſum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns; that it ſhould have a public council compoſed of a certain number of ſenators, wherein all affairs ſhould be diſcuſſed and adjudged; that it ſhould be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that each ſhould have their council, in which particular affairs ſhould be examined; and that no perſon ſhould contract marriage, or purchaſe lands or houſes out of their own canton. Several other articles of leſs importance were annexed to theſe. The prætor Octavius, who was preſent in this aſſembly, explained the ſeveral articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleaſure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the diviſion of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their uſual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by ſeparating its members, which have no life, and ſubſiſt only in their mutual ſupport of each other.

The conſul [f] afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I ſhall relate elſewhere the ſubject of it.

After thoſe foreign affairs were over, [g] Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the aſſembly, in order to put the laſt hand to his regulations. He ſpoke at firſt upon the ſenators who were to compoſe the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be tranſacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A liſt was then read of the principal perſons of the country, who were

[e] Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30. [f] Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. [g] Ibid. n. 32.

were to be sent into Italy with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects, all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs[h] succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts, the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evinced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated, according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games,

[h] Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. xlv. n. 32.

games, till then unknown to the Romans, he ſhould inſtance ſo diſtinguiſhing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greateſt, ſhould not neglect the leaſt propriety in ſmall affairs.

He had cauſed all the ſpoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins; in a word, arms of all ſorts; and had cauſed them to be diſpoſed in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he ſet fire to them firſt himſelf, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards expoſed to the view of the ſpectators, upon a place raiſed expreſsly for the occaſion, all that was richeſt and moſt magnificent in the ſpoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, ſtatues, and paintings of the greateſt maſters, veſſels of gold, ſilver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the time of its greateſt opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the higheſt ſatisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was ſtill more grateful to ſelf-love, was to ſee, that in the midſt of ſo many extraordinary objects and curious ſights, nothing was thought ſo wonderful, or ſo worthy of attention and admiration, as himſelf. And as people were ſurpriſed at the fine order of his table, he ſaid, with an air of pleaſantry, that the ſame genius which was neceſſary in diſpoſing a battle, would ſerve alſo in regulating a feaſt; in the firſt, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to gueſts.

His diſintereſtedneſs and magnanimity were no leſs praiſed than his magnificence and politeneſs; for he never ſo much as ſaw the gold and ſilver found amongſt the king's treaſures, which amounted to very great ſums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treaſurers, in order to its being applied to the uſe of the public. He only permitted his ſons, who were fond of ſtudy, to keep the books of Perſeus's library for their own uſe. The young noblemen of thoſe times, and ſuch as were deſigned one day for the command of armies, did not poſſeſs a contempt

for

for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unneceſſary to the profeſſion of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius [1] had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuſe the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preſerve it by good government and union, he ſet out for Epirus with a decree of the ſenate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had ſent alſo Scipio Naſica, and Fabius his ſon, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commiſſion, that his deſign ſhould not be foreſeen. He therefore ſent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garriſon, in order that the Epirots ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a ſtratagem was called prudence. He then ſignified to ten of the principal perſons of each city, that they ſhould bring all the gold and ſilver in their houſes and temples, upon a certain day, into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treaſury, and diſtributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and ſilver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and at ten of the clock the ſoldiers fell furiouſly upon the houſes which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thouſand men were made ſlaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demoliſhed, the number of which wanted very little of ſeventy. The whole booty was ſold, and of the ſum raiſed by it, each of the horſe had about ten pounds ſterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which was gentle and humane, had cauſed this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the ſea at the

[1] Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being [k] arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of discipline, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian History. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hundred thousand

[k] Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

* The talent weighed sixty pounds.

thouſand crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Behind theſe rich ſpoils and treaſures, which were carried in pomp, was ſeen the chariot of Perſeus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At ſome diſtance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their houſehold, who, ſhedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught thoſe little captives to do the ſame, and to endeavour, by their ſupplications and prayers to move them in their favour. They were two ſons and a daughter, who had little ſenſe of the greatneſs of their calamity, from the tenderneſs of their years; a circumſtance which ſtill more excited compaſſion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilſt their father was ſcarce regarded, and in the midſt of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at ſo mournful a ſight.

King Perſeus walked after his children and all their train, wrapped in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour ſeemed to argue, that the exceſs of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, ſufficiently explained to the ſpectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were ſenſible ſolely to thoſe of their king.

It is ſaid, that Perſeus ſent to deſire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a ſpectacle to the Romans, and to ſpare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The favour he aſks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himſelf." He reproached in thoſe few words his cowardice and exceſſive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to ſacrifice generouſly in ſuch conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perſeus was not prevented by that conſideration.

Paulus

Paulus Æmilius, ſeated in a ſuperb chariot, and magnificently adorned, cloſed the march. He had his two ſons on each ſide of him.

Whatever compaſſion he had for the misfortunes of Perſeus, and however inclined he might be to ſerve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public priſon to a more commodious place. Himſelf and his ſon Alexander were carried, by the order of the ſenate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and ſupplied with money, furniture, and people to ſerve him. Moſt authors agree, that he occaſioned his own death by abſtaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till ſome years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were alſo granted the honour of a triumph; the firſt for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, ſent to demand his ſon, who had been confined in priſon, after having been led in triumph. He excuſed himſelf for his attachment to the party of Perſeus, and offered a great ranſom for the priſoner. The ſenate without receiving his excuſes, replied, that having more regard to his ancient ſervices than late fault, they would ſend back his ſon, but without accepting any ranſom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they choſe rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of thoſe they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

This ſecond article includes the ſpace of ſomething more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perſeus, to the taking and deſtruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their ſucceſs in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians preſent themſelves before the ſenate, and endeavour to appeaſe their wrath. After long and warm ſolicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exerciſed againſt the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured Perſeus, are cited to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct. A thouſand Achæans carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The ſenate baniſhes them into ſeveral towns of Italy. After ſeventeen years of baniſhment, they are ſent back into their own country; when only three hundred of them remained.*

[1] AMONGST the different embaſſies from kings and ſtates, which came to Rome after the victory over Perſeus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, [m] more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Aſiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the neceſſity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid againſt thoſe Barbarians. Another ſtill more ſpecious reaſon had obliged him to make that voyage. It was neceſſary to congratulate the Romans upon their laſt victory, and to receive the applauſes he deſerved for the part he had taken in the war againſt Perſeus, and for having ſhared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a conſtant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a moſt favourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All theſe honours, the real cauſe of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not ſuggeſted

[1] A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. [m] Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

to him. The greateſt part of the Romans had no longer any eſteem or affection for Eumenes. His ſecret negociations with Perſeus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their ſide, and that he only waited an occaſion to declare againſt them. Full of this prejudice, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Romans, in their private converſations with Attalus, adviſed him not to mention the buſineſs his brother had ſent him to treat; but to ſpeak ſolely of what related to himſelf. They gave him to underſtand, that the ſenate, to whom Eumenes was become ſuſpected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perſeus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himſelf, upon whom they could rely as an aſſured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy, and theſe detached lines may ſerve to unveil it upon other occaſions, when more attentive to conceal itſelf.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject ſuch pleaſing hopes, when they preſented themſelves to him without being ſolicited. He liſtened therefore to theſe diſcourſes and this propoſal, and the rather, becauſe they came from ſome of the principal perſons of Rome, whoſe wiſdom he eſteemed, and whoſe probity he reſpected. The affair went ſo far, that he promiſed them to demand in the ſenate, that part of his brother's kingdom ſhould be given to him.

Attalus had a phyſician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, ſuſpecting his brother, had ſent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counſel, if he ſhould happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very inſinuating, and well adapted to perſuaſion. Having either diſcovered, or learned from Attalus himſelf, the deſign that had been inſtilled into him, he took the advantage of ſome favourable moments

moments to open himself to him. He represented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male issue (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore inconteſtable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That, not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same scepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons, who less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully at-

tached to him to the laſt. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expoſe the kingdom of Pergamus in the preſent conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of diſcord in this manner between brothers! Of what value muſt a ſincere, prudent, and diſintereſted friend appear at ſuch a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give thoſe who approach him the liberty of ſpeaking freely, and without reſerve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wiſe remonſtrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the ſenate, without ſpeaking againſt his brother, or demanding a diviſion of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himſelf with congratulating the ſenate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modeſtly diſplayed the zeal and affection with which he had ſerved in the war againſt Perſeus. He deſired, that they would ſend ambaſſadors to check the inſolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former ſtate; and concluded with requeſting, that the inveſtiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perſeus, and the poſſeſſion diſputed with him by Eumenes.

The ſenate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to ſpeak in particular of his pretenſions upon part of his brother's dominions, promiſed beforehand to ſend ambaſſadors according to his demand, and made the prince the uſual preſents. They promiſed beſides to put him in poſſeſſion of the two cities, as he deſired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the ſenate, offended to find that he had done nothing they had expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promiſe they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They ſent, however, an embaſſy

embaſſy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different inſtructions to thoſe demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the maſk entirely at this time, and ſhowed an aſpect very unlike the frankneſs and probity of their anceſtors.

The ſenate ſome days [n] after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noiſe. They were at firſt refuſed to be heard, as having rendered themſelves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war againſt them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, ſent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the ſenate with great difficulty, they appeared there as ſuppliants, dreſſed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Aſtymedes ſpoke, and with a voice interrupted with ſighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to ſhow at firſt his deſire to juſtify it. He knew, that it had juſtly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confeſſed its faults; he called to mind the indiſcreet embaſſy, which the inſolent pride of the orator who ſpoke, had rendered ſtill more criminal: but he begged the ſenate to make ſome difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private perſons diſavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He repreſented, that there was no republic nor city, that did not include ſome bad members. That after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; fooliſh indeed, raſh, extravagant (which he confeſſed to be the characteriſtics and failings of his nation) but ſuch as wiſe perſons ſeldom lay much ſtreſs upon, or puniſh with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that ſpeak with little reſpect of his divinity. "But (ſaid he) the neutrality obſerved by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when

[n] Polyb. Legat. xciii. xcix. c. & civ. Liv. xlv. n. 20—25.

* *Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum eſſe, ut ſiquis vellet inimicum perire, ſi nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur.* Liv.

" when without effect, is punished as the action itself?
" But let your severity be carried to that excess, at most
" the punishment can only fall on those who have had
" this intention, and then the majority of us are inno-
" cent. Admitting even that this neutrality and in-
" action make us all criminal; ought the real services
" we have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to
" be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the
" omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, An-
" tiochus, and Perseus bear witness now in our cause.
" The voices of the two first will certainly be for us,
" and absolve us; and, for the third, at most, and in
" the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful
" and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state
" of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes;
" for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether
" it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed?
" You may declare war against us; but not a single
" Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you per-
" sist in your resentment, we demand time to go and
" report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment
" our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will
" embark, with all our estates and effects; we will
" abandon our household gods, as well public as pri-
" vate, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown
" our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we
" will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our chil-
" dren, to your discretion. We will suffer here before
" your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon
" us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set
" on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that
" calamity. You may by your resolves declare your-
" selves our enemies; but there is a secret sense in the
" bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the contrary,
" and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act
" against us, you will never find us otherwise than
" friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the se-

nators,

nators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the ſenate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had ſerved in Macedonia, in quality of conſuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had moſt experienced their fooliſh pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much againſt them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated cenſor, known by the ſeverity of his character, which often roſe to hardneſs of heart, was ſoftened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and ſpoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his diſcourſe, becauſe it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, *De Originibus*, where he had inſerted his own orations.

The world has reaſon to regret the loſs of ſo valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius ° has preſerved ſome fragments of this diſcourſe of Cato's; by which it appears, he made uſe of almoſt the ſame reaſons with the ambaſſadors of Rhodes. I ſhall cite ſome paſſages of it at the bottom of the page, to aſſiſt the reader in knowing and diſtinguiſhing the manly and energetical ſtyle, which characterized the Roman eloquence in thoſe ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato * begins his diſcourſe by repreſenting to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themſelves to the extravagance of exceſſive joy. That proſperity generally excites pride and inſolence. That he apprehends, in the preſent caſe, they may form reſolutions, which may draw ſome misfortune upon Rome, and cauſe the frivolous joy, to which they give themſelves up, to vaniſh like

° Liv. l. vii. c. v.

* *Scio ſolere pleriſque hominibus rebus ſecundis atque prolixis atque proſperis animum excellere, ſuperbiam atque ferociam augeſcere atque creſcere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ eſt, quia hæc res tam ſecunde proceſſit, nequid in conſulendo adverſi eveniat, quod noſtras ſecundas res conſutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxurioſe eveniat. Adverſæ res ſe domant, & docent quid opus ſit facto: ſecundæ res lætitia tranſverſum trudere ſolent à recto conſulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico ſuadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in poteſtatem noſtram redeamus.*

like a dream. "Adverſity (ſays he) in humbling the "ſpirit, reſtores us to our reaſon, and teaches us what "is neceſſary to be done. Proſperity, on the contrary, "hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it "occaſions, and makes us loſe ſight of the meaſures, "which a calm ſituation of mind would enable us to "diſcern, and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am "abſolutely of opinion, that we ſhould defer the deciſion "of this affair, till having recovered from the violent "emotions of our joy, we may be maſters of ourſelves, "and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were "far from deſiring that the Romans ſhould have con-"quered Perſeus; but that they had ſuch ſentiments in "common with all other ſtates; ſentiments, which did "not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but "from the love of their own liberty; for which they "had juſt cauſe to fear, when there ſhould be none in a "condition to diſpute empire with us, and we ſhould "become abſolute maſters of all nations. For the reſt, "the Rhodians did not aid Perſeus. Their whole "*crime, by the conſent of their moſt violent accuſers, "is to have intended to declare war againſt us. But how "long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? "Is there any one amongſt us, that would be willing "to ſubject himſelf to this rule? For my part, I am "ſure, I would not. The † Rhodians, it is ſaid, are "proud, I ſhould be very ſorry that my children could "juſtly make me that reproach. But, pray, in what "does their pride affect us? Would it become us to "make it a crime in them to be prouder than we "are?"

The

* *Qui acerrime adverſus eos dicit, ita dicit; hoſtes voluiſſe fieri. Et quis tandem eſt noſtrûm, qui, quod ad ſeſe attinet, æquum cenſeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluiſſe? nemo opinor; nam ego, quod ad me attinet nolim.*

† *Rhodienſes ſuperbos eſſe aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minime dici velim. Sint ſanè ſuperbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne iraſcimini, ſiquis ſuperbior eſt quam nos.*

The opinion of ſo grave and venerable a ſenator as Cato, prevented a war againſt the Rhodians. The anſwer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in ſuſpenſe. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Thoſe provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of puniſhment. They were ordered alſo to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the firſt for two hundred talents (about twenty-five thouſand pounds) of Ptolemy's general, and the ſecond had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from thoſe two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or fifteen thouſand pounds.) At the ſame time the ſenate granted the iſland of Delos an exemption from cuſtoms, which conſiderably diminiſhed the revenues of the Rhodians. For inſtead of a million of drachmas (about five-and-twenty thouſand pounds ſterling) to which the revenue from thoſe cuſtoms amounted before, it paid afterwards only an hundred and fifty thouſand (about three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterling.)

The ſenate's anſwer having diſpelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms againſt the republick, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to inſenſible of ſmall ones. How hard ſoever thoſe orders were, they ſubmitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed at the ſame time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of * ten thouſand pieces of gold and choſe their admiral Theodotus to preſent it. He had orders to ſolicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almoſt an hundred and forty years they had ſhared in the moſt glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a fetch of their politics. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths

* This might amount to about ſix thouſand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσους) at twelve ſhillings, or thereabouts.

and treaties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people,

I have before observed, [p] that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have

[p] Liv. l. xlv. n. 28—32.

have been killed, and the exiles to have been baniſhed, juſtly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was juſt; or if not, why were thoſe acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This ſentence gave great terror to all who had expreſſed any inclination for Perſeus, and exceedingly increaſed the pride and inſolence of the Partiſans of Rome. The principal perſons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themſelves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppreſſive ſubjection. A third kind of citizens, in oppoſition to the other two, obſerved a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly aſſerting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much eſteemed and beloved in their ſeveral cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embaſſies, honours, and rewards, were conferred ſolely upon thoſe who eſpouſed the Roman intereſt, after the defeat of Perſeus; and they employed their credit in utterly deſtroying all thoſe who differed from themſelves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commiſſioners, appointed by the ſenate to regulate affairs. They gave them to underſtand, that beſides thoſe who had declared publicly for Perſeus, there were abundance of others ſecretly the enemies of Rome, who under the colour of aſſerting liberty, influenced the whole people againſt them, and that thoſe cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly ſubject to the Romans, unleſs, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of thoſe who had only the intereſt of the Roman commonwealth at heart, was fully eſtabliſhed. The ten commiſſioners perfectly reliſhed thoſe reaſons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What juſtice could be expected from an aſſembly that was determined to conſider, and treat all as criminals, who

were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who ſhould declare themſelves their accuſers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We ſee here to what lengths ambition and the luſt of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all ſenſe of duty and decency, and induce them to ſacrifice juſtice, as well as every thing elſe, when it oppoſes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occaſion. The Roman general, to whom a liſt had been given of all thoſe who were ſuſpected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commiſſioners were ſent alſo into Aſia, in order to take informations againſt ſuch as, in public or private, had favoured Perſeus.

[q] Of all the ſmall ſtates of Greece,[r] none gave the Roman republic ſo much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities by which it was compoſed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obſtacle to their ambitious deſigns, eſpecially if they ſhould join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, ſpared no pains to weaken it by introducing diviſions, and gaining creatures, whom they raiſed by their credit to all employments, and by whoſe means they decided in all the aſſemblies of the league. We have ſeen what paſſed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now ſpeak of, the Romans gave the laſt ſtroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perſeus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had ſold himſelf, the ruin of the partiſans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldneſs to accuſe by name all thoſe

[q] A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. [r] Liv. xlv. n. 31. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

thoſe to the ten commiſſioners, whom he ſuſpected to have had any inclination to ſupport Perſeus. They did not think it would ſuffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other ſtates, that they ſhould ſend ſuch of their citizens to Rome, as were accuſed of having favoured Perſeus; but they ſent two deputies to declare in perſon that order to the league. Two reaſons induced them to act in this manner. The firſt was, their fear that the Achæans who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, ſhould refuſe obedience to the letters that ſhould be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the riſque of their lives in the aſſembly: the ſecond, becauſe in the letters, which had been found amongſt Perſeus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accuſed Achæans.

The two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them more abandoned to injuſtice than the other, (Pauſanias does not ſay which) complained in the aſſembly, that many of the moſt powerful perſons of the league had aſſiſted Perſeus againſt the Romans, and demanded, that they ſhould be condemned as deſerving death, after which he ſhould name them. The whole aſſembly was ſhocked at this propoſal, and cried out on all ſides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn perſons before it was declared who they were, and preſſed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated inſtances to explain himſelf, he replied, at the ſuggeſtion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themſelves guilty of that crime. Xeon, upon that, who was a perſon of great credit, and very much reſpected by the league, ſpoke to this effect: "I have "commanded the armies, and have had the honour to "be the chief magiſtrate of the league; I proteſt that "I have never acted in any thing contrary to the in-"tereſts of the Romans, which I am ready to prove "either in the aſſembly of the Achæans, or at Rome "before the ſenate." The Roman took hold of this expreſſion as favourable to his deſigns, and decreed, that all thoſe who had been charged by Callicrates ſhould be

ſent

ſent to Rome, in order to juſtify themſelves there. The whole aſſembly was in the higheſt affliction upon this ſentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his ſon Alexander. Thoſe princes, though irreſiſtibly powerful, never conceived the thought of cauſing ſuch as oppoſed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphyctions, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may juſtly be called tyrannical, cauſed above a thouſand of the moſt conſiderable citizens of the Achæan league to be ſeiſed and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and deteſtation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him and ſhunned his preſence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been firſt emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated hiſtorian, was of the number of theſe exiles. We have ſeen Lycortas, his father, diſtinguiſh himſelf by the fortitude and conſtancy with which he ſupported the intereſts of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his ſon. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great ſtateſman, for his maſter; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the moſt able and intrepid generals of antiquity, it was under theſe tutors he imbibed thoſe learned leſſons of government and war, which he practiſed himſelf, and has tranſmitted to poſterity in his writings.

As ſoon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation reached before him, his merit made the greateſt men of the public cultivate his friendſhip. He was particularly intimate with the two ſons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldeſt of whom had been adopted into the family of Fabii, and the youngeſt into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, ſon of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged ſufficiently, in the concluſion of the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendſhip of Polybius with this ſecond ſon of Paulus Æmilius,

Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans [s] surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome (with Euræas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia.

[s] Polyb. legat. cv.

Achaia. The ſenate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more ſubmiſſive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other ſtates to the partiſans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles conſiſted with theirs, or the intereſt of their country. This anſwer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a conſternation. An univerſal mourning ſucceeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing further to hope for the accuſed Achæans, and that their baniſhment was perpetual.

However, [t] they ſent new deputies, with inſtructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as ſuppliants, and as a favour; leſt in taking upon them their defence, they ſhould ſeem ever ſo little to oppoſe the will of the ſenate. There did not eſcape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and ſufficiently reſerved. Notwithſtanding which, the ſenate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would perſiſt in the regulations already made.

The Achæans [u] would not be rejected, and appointed ſeveral deputations at different times, but with no better ſucceſs; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to perſevere thus in their applications to the ſenate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated inſtances had no other effect than to place the injuſtice of the Romans in full light, they could not be conſidered as unneceſſary. Many of the ſenators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend home the exiles.

The Achæans, [x] having received advice of this favourable diſpoſition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a laſt deputation. The exiles had been already baniſhed ſeventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the ſenate; ſome being for their return into their country, and their being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates;

[t] Polyb. Legat. cxxi. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.

[u] A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Id.

[x] Plut. in Cato Cenſ. p. 341.

eſtates; and others oppoſing it. Scipio, at the requeſt of Polybius, had ſolicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave ſenator, riſing up to ſpeak in his turn: "To ſee "us (ſaid he) diſpute an whole day, whether ſome poor "old men of Greece ſhall be interred by our grave-dig-"gers, or thoſe of their own country, would not one be-"lieve, that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleaſantry was all that was wanting to make the ſenate aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and to determine it at laſt to ſend back the exiles into Peloponneſus. Polybius was for deſiring, that they might be re-inſtated in all the honours and dignities they poſſeſſed before their baniſhment; but before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thought proper to ſound Cato upon it, who told him, ſmiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wiſdom of "Ulyſſes. You are for returning into the cave of the "Cyclops for ſome miſerable tatters you have left there." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thouſand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no uſe of this permiſſion, or if he did, he ſoon rejoined Scipio, ſeeing three years after he was with him at the ſiege of Carthage.

SECT. II. *Mean flatteries of Pruſias, king of Bithynia, in the ſenate. Eumenes, become ſuſpected by the Romans, is not ſuffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus, his brother, ſucceeds him, as guardian to his ſon, then very young. War between Attalus and Pruſias. The latter having formed the deſign of putting his ſon Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embaſſy of three celebrated Athenian philoſophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marſeilles. Digreſſion upon the city of Marſeilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perſeus, new embaſſies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to juſtify or excuſe themſelves for

[y] A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

for the attachment they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

Prusias being come to Rome, [z] to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies; "You see," said he, "one of your freed men ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, gods preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome, [z] when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news

z A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44. z Polyb. Legat. xcvii.

news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbad all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies [a] and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians, his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athlæneus, thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to refute all complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not, however entirely

[a] A. M. 3839, Ant. J. C. 165. Ibid. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

tirely efface the prejudices conceived againſt their brother. The ſenate diſpatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themſelves ſecretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting ſome deſign againſt the Romans.

Sulpicius [b] acted in this commiſſion with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring againſt Eumenes. When he arrived in Aſia, he cauſed all the cities to be informed, that ſuch as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accuſations people thought fit to form againſt Eumenes; a liberty that ſet all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

[c] Tiberius Gracchus, whom the ſenate ſent the following year into Aſia upon the ſame account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from thoſe two kings, and induced him to make his report to the ſenate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the ſiſter of Eumenes. That prince died ſome time after. His ſon Ariarathes,[d] ſurnamed Philopater, ſucceeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to reſign his kingdom to him, to which his ſon would never conſent; from whence he was called *Philopater*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As ſoon as the young king aſcended the throne, [e] he ſent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans ſhould be renewed, which was granted him, with praiſes.

Some

[b] Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145. [c] A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. [d] A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895. [e] Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

Some time after,[f] notwithſtanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers ſet in his place, who was a ſuppoſed ſon, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome.[g] The uſurper and Demetrius ſent their ambaſſadors alſo thither. The ſenate decreed, that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. It was a policy ſufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and ſow the ſeeds of an eternal diviſion between them. Attalus, in the firſt year of his reign, re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always ſuſpected by the Romans, and almoſt continually at war with Pruſias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight years.* He left for his ſucceſſor[h] in the kingdom his ſon Attalus, ſurnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, ſiſter of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his ſon, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius beſtows great praiſes on Eumenes. The body of that prince, ſays he, was weak and delicate, his ſoul great, and abounding with the moſt noble ſentiments. He gave place to none of the kings[i] his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them in all the nobleneſs of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, conſiſted only of a very ſmall number of cities, which ſcarce deſerved that name. He rendered it ſo powerful, that it might have diſputed pre-eminence with almoſt all the greateſt kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; ſtill uſing the words of Polybius. Every thing was the reſult of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondneſs for

[f] A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Id. Legat. cxxvi. [g] A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157. [h] Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. [i] Polyb. Exempt. Virt. and Vit. p. 166.

* Strabo ſays, he reigned forty-three years, but that is preſumed to be an error.

for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private perſons, than any prince. To finiſh his character, he poſſeſſed ſo fully the art of engaging the reſpect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themſelves, and ſhared with him in the functions of the ſovereignty, they never failed in point of ſubmiſſion, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his ſervice, aſſiſted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find ſuch an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at leaſt, conſiderably augmented it: but I ſhall ſpeak of that elſewhere.

The diviſion [k] which had almoſt perpetually ſubſiſted between Pruſias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus who ſucceeded the latter. Pruſias having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted [l] that he had failed of ſeizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the ſtatues and temples of the gods; burning and deſtroying all before him in his march. Attalus ſent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate, who ſent ſeveral embaſſies at different times to forbid Pruſias to continue the war againſt Attalus; but he eluded thoſe orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to ſeize the Roman ambaſſador and Attalus. His deſign was diſcovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the leſs upon that account. Rome at other times would have puniſhed it with the deſtruction of his kingdom. At this ſhe was contented with ſending ten commiſſioners, with inſtructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Pruſias to make

k A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi. l A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported; that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred Talents (five hundred thousand Crowns) in the space of twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them an hundred talents (an hundred thousand crowns.) When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger, [m] son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuation of their amity, and without

[m] Polyb. Legat. cxl.

without doubt, to thank them alſo for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the ſenate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours ſuitable to his years; after which he ſet out for his dominions.

Pruſias [n] afterwards ſent alſo his ſon Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly conſidered there, he gave him inſtructions to demand that the ſenate would remit him the remainder of the ſum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embaſſy, to whom he had given ſecret orders to diſpatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a ſecond wife. The favour demanded by Pruſias was refuſed, Attalus's ambaſſadors demonſtrating that the whole ſum was far from being equal to the loſſes his maſter had ſuſtained from him.

Menas, inſtead of executing the horrid commiſſion he was charged with, diſcovered the whole to Nicomedes. [o] The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous deſigns of his father. Supported by the aſſiſtance of Attalus, he revolted againſt him, and drew over the greateſt part of the people into his party; for Pruſias was univerſally hated for his oppreſſions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his ſubjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was ſlain by ſoldiers ſent by Nicomedes, or, according to ſome, by Nicomedes himſelf. What horrors on each ſide! Pruſias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at leaſt ſix-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

The king of Bithynia's perſon had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. [p] He was in ſize but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but ſoft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and moſt of all, among the Bithynians.

[n] A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian, in Mithridat. p. 175. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 4. [o] A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.
[p] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

nians. Polite learning, philoſophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In ſhort, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his ſubjects upon the firſt dawn of hope, joined with the utmoſt ardour in meaſures againſt him, and to puniſh him in the ſame manner he had governed them.

I have deferred ſpeaking of two embaſſies, which arrived at Rome very near the ſame time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a ſentence paſſed on them by the Sicyonians, [q] but under the authority of the Roman ſenate, in a fine of five hundred talents for having laid waſte the lands of the city of Oropus, ſent to demand the remiſſion of that fine. The ambaſſadors were three celebrated philoſophers; Carneades of the ſect of the Academics; Diogenes, of the Stoics; and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taſte for eloquence and philoſophy had not yet made its way ſo far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are ſpeaking, that it began to ſpread there, and the reputation of theſe three philoſophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taſte for the ſciences, made it their honour and amuſement to viſit them, and were ſtruck with admiration in hearing them, eſpecially Carneades, whoſe lively and graceful eloquence, in which ſolidity and ornament exalted each other, tranſported and enchanted them. It was univerſally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and ſoftening the moſt violent paſſions by his eloquence, inſpired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleaſures and employments, to abandon themſelves wholly to philoſophy. He had for his auditors all the moſt conſiderable perſons of Rome. His diſcourſes, tranſlated into Latin by one of the ſenators, were in all hands. All Rome ſaw,

[q] A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

with great joy, their children apply themſelves to the Grecian learning, and inſeparable from theſe wonderful men. Cato only ſeemed ſorry for it; apprehending, that this taſte for polite learning would extinguiſh that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of ſpeaking to that of acting well. The example of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, educated at the ſame time under the care of Polybius, in a taſte for the ſciences, demonſtrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the ſenators for keeping the ambaſſadors ſo long in the city, and having cauſed the affair that brought them thither to be deſpatched, he haſtened their departure. By a decree of the ſenate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The other embaſſy was ſent by the [r] people of Marſeilles. They had already been often haraſſed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now ſpeak, they were reduced to the laſt extremities, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate. They came to a reſolution to ſend deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to ſentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negociation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their inſolence ſo far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations, in their perſons. The ſenate being informed of this unhappy affair, made the conſul Quintus Opimius march immediately againſt them with an army. He laid ſiege to the city [s] where the inſult had been offered to the Roman Ambaſſadors, took it by ſtorm, made ſlaves of the inhabitants, and ſent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be puniſhed there according to their deſerts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in ſeveral battles. The victor diſtributed all the conquered lands amongſt the people of Marſeilles. He ordered the Ligurians to ſend hoſtages to Marſeilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent

[r] Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. & cxxxiv. [s] Egitna.

vent them from moleſting the people of Marſeilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marſeilles in extreme conſideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had conſtantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin [t] of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes ſent Harpagus to beſiege it, the inhabitants, rather than ſubmit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as ſo many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having caſt a maſs of red-hot iron into the ſea, they all engaged themſelves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron ſhould ſwim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coaſt of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they ſettled there, by the conſent of the king of the country, and built a city ſince called Marſeilles. This foundation is ſaid to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, about the ſecond year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and ſix hundred years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodneſs, being dead, his ſon [u] did not ſhow them ſo much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to underſtand, that thoſe ſtrangers, whom he had received into his country, as gueſts and ſuppliants, might one day make themſelves maſters of it by right of conqueſt. The fable of the bitch was made uſe of upon this occaſion, that aſked her companion to lend her her houſe only for eight days, till ſhe had brought forth her whelps; then by great intreaties obtained a ſecond term to bring them up; and at laſt when they were grown large and ſtrong, made herſelf abſolute miſtreſs and proprietor of the place, from whence ſhe could never afterwards be expelled. The Marſeillians had, in conſequence, at firſt a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet poſſeſſion of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In

[t] Herod. l. i. c. 164. Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 3. [u] Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 4.

In proceſs of time they ſettled ſeveral [x] colonies, and built ſeveral cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arſenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new ſettlements [y] contributed to the ſpreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occaſioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient ruſticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to aſſume more gentle manners. Inſtead of breathing nothing but war, they accuſtomed themſelves to the obſervance of the laws of a wiſe government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives.* Hence ſo ſurpriſing an alteration enſued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been ſaid, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The [z] inhabitants of the new city made very wiſe laws for its polity and government, which was ariſtocratical, that is to ſay, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was compoſed of ſix hundred ſenators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preſide in the aſſemblies, in quality of principal magiſtrates.

The right of hoſpitality [a] was in ſingular eſtimation amongſt the Marſeillians, and practiſed by them with the moſt exalted humanity. To maintain the ſecurity of the aſylum they gave to ſtrangers, no perſon was ſuffered to enter the city with arms. Certain perſons were placed at the gates, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All

x Strab. p. 180. y Juſtin. l. lxiii. c. 4. z Strab. l. iv. p. 179.
a Val. Max. lii. c. 6.

* *Adeo magnus & hominibus & rebus impoſitus eſt nitor, ut non Græciæ in Galliam emigraſſe, ſed Gallia in Græciam tranſlata videretur.* JUSTIN.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves, [b] especially upon sobriety, modesty and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to say, very near an hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus [c], who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city (says he) "steadfastly retaining the * ancient severity of manners, "excluded from their theatre those comedians whose "pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful "love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest "(adds the author) a familiarity with such sort of shows "should make the people more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased †. "For is it "consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction "or to be offended at the Divinity, for not having "thought fit share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of ‡ Julia Procilla,

[b] Strab. l. iv. p. 181. [c] Lib. ii. c. 6.

* *Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.*

† *Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?*

‡ *Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit.* TACITUS *in Agricol.* c. iv.

Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him paſs the moſt early years of his youth in the ſtudy of thoſe arts and ſciences that ſuited his birth and age; he adds, "What had preſerved him from the dangers and "diſorders, to which youth is generally expoſed, was, "beſides his own genius and diſpoſition, the good for-"tune, of having from his infancy the city of Marſeilles "for his ſchool, in the manners of whoſe inhabitants the "politeneſs of the Greeks, and the ſimplicity and reſerve "of the provinces were happily united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipſius bonam integramque naturam, quòd ſtatim parvulus ſedem ac magiſtram ſtudiorum Maſſiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parſimonia miſtum ac bene compoſitum.*

From what I have ſaid may be ſeen, that Marſeilles was become a celebrated ſchool for politeneſs, wiſdom, and virtue, and, at the ſame time, for all arts and ſciences. Eloquence, philoſophy, phyſic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly profeſſed there. This city produced [d] the moſt ancient of the learned men of the Weſt, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and aſtronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They perſevered conſtantly in cultivating the arts and ſciences with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Auguſtus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marſeilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itſelf; which is ſaying a great deal. We have already ſeen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the hiſtorian.

The Marſeillians diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the wiſdom of their government, than by their capacity and taſte for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their

[d] Voſſ. in Hiſtor. Græc.

republic.

republic. *"I am assured (says he) that not only in "Greece, but all other nations, there is nothing compa- "rable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That "city, so remote from the country, manners, and lan- "guage of all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst "of barbarous nations which surround it on all sides, "is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, "that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom "of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental [e] rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin [f] relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The [g] Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right

[e] Strab. l. iv. p. 180. [f] Justin. l. xliii. c. 5. [g] Liv. l. xxi. n. 20. 25. 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

* *Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguâque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari.* Orat. *pro Flacco*, n. lxiii.

right of ſitting among the ſenators at the public ſhows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marſeilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill ſucceſſes which they experienced in the firſt years of the war, and which had deprived them of almoſt all their allies, not being capable of ſhaking their fidelity in the leaſt.

In the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, that city obſerved a conduct which well denotes the wiſdom of its government. Cæſar, [h] againſt whom they had ſhut their gates, cauſed the fifteen ſenators, who were in ſupreme authority, to come to his camp, and repreſented to them, that he was ſorry the war ſhould begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to ſubmit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themſelves blindly to the deſires of one man; and he added all the motives moſt capable of perſuading them. After having made their report to the ſenate they returned into the camp, and gave Cæſar this anſwer: * that they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their ſide: that the two heads of thoſe parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the ſame time its friends and benefactors. That for this reaſon, obliged to expreſs their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to aſſiſt, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They [i] ſuffered a long ſiege, in which they ſhowed all poſſible valour; but at length, the extreme neceſſity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to ſurrender. However enraged Cæſar was at ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, he could not refuſe to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour

[h] Cæſ. in Bel. Civ. l. i. [i] Cæſ. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

* *Intelligere ſe diviſum eſſe populum in partes duas: neque ſui judicii, neque ſuram virium diſcernere utra pars juſtiorem habeat cauſam: principes vero earum eſſe partium Cn. Prompeium, & C. Cæſarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem ſe quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.*

favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECT. III. *Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.*

FIFTEEN or sixteen years[k] after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and

[k] A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epiton. Liv. l. xlviii.—l. Zonar. ex Dione, l. i. c. 11, Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the perſon who paſſed for his father, finding himſelf at the point of death, had revealed the ſecret to his wife, and entruſted her with a writing, ſigned by Perſeus with his own hand, which atteſted all that has been ſaid; which writing ſhe was to deliver to him (Philip) as ſoon as he ſhould attain to years of diſcretion. He added, that her huſband having conjured her abſolutely to conceal the affair till then, ſhe had been moſt faithful in keeping the ſecret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; preſſing him to quit the country, before the report ſhould reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perſeus, leſt he ſhould cauſe him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he ſhould be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia riſe in his favour. When he ſaw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whoſe ſiſter Perſeus had eſpouſed. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expreſſed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a ſtrict guard upon him, or to confine him cloſe. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his eſcape from Rome. Having found means to raiſe a conſiderable army amongſt the Thracians, who entered into his views for the ſake of delivering themſelves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himſelf maſter of Macedonia, either by conſent or force, and aſſumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this firſt conqueſt, which had coſt him little, he attacked Theſſaly, and ſubjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to ſeem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Naſica to go thither, and appeaſe this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commiſſion. He had, indeed, the art of managing

naging men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by perſuaſion; and if he ſhould find it neceſſary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wiſdom, and executing it with valour. As ſoon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the ſtate of affairs in Macedonia and Theſſaly, he gave the ſenate advice of them; and, without loſs of time, viſited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raiſing of troops for the defence of Theſſaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the moſt powerful people of Greece, ſupplied him with the greateſt number, forgetting paſt ſubjects of diſcontent. He preſently took from the falſe Philip all the places he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in Theſſaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

[1] However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occaſion for a ſpeedy ſupport. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as ſoon as poſſible with an army, which he did without loſs of time. But looking upon Andriſcus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions againſt him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he loſt his life, with part of his army; the reſt ſaving themſelves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this ſucceſs, and believing his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, abandoned himſelf to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reſerve: as if the being truly a king conſiſted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his paſſions. He was covetous, proud, inſolent, and cruel. Nothing was ſeen every where but violence, confiſcations of eſtates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occaſioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he ſoon recovered all he had loſt in Theſſaly. An embaſſy ſent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had ſucceeded Juventius. Andriſcus had reſolved to advance to meet him, but didnot think it proper to remove far from the

[1] A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

the ſea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor ſoon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and ſkirmiſhed every day. Andriſcus gained an advantage ſufficiently conſiderable in a ſmall combat of the cavalry. Succeſs generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriſcus, believing himſelf ſuperior to the Romans, ſent off a great detachment to defend his conqueſts in Theſſaly. This was a groſs error; and Metellus, whoſe vigilance nothing eſcaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriſcus obliged to fly. He retired amongſt the Thracians, from whom he returned ſoon after with another army. He was ſo raſh as to hazard another battle, which was ſtill leſs ſucceſsful than the former. He had above five-and-twenty thouſand men killed in theſe two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to ſeize Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he had abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not ſtand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their intereſt. That prince delivered up his gueſt and ſuppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himſelf the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriſcus was ſent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the ſame fate with the firſt, except being ſeized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himſelf.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely ſubjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third uſurper, ſome years after, appeared again, and ſet himſelf up as the ſon of Perſeus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of ſhort duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward ſurnamed *Scrofa*, from having ſaid that he would diſperſe the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war againſt the Lacedæmonians. Metellus ſends deputies to Corinth to appeaſe thoſe troubles; they are ill uſed and inſulted. Metellus, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The conſul Mummius ſucceeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, ſets it on fire, and entirely demoliſhes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.*

METELLUS [m] after having pacified Macedonia, continued there ſome time. Great commotions had ariſen amongſt the Achæans of the league, occaſioned by the temerity and avarice of thoſe who held the firſt offices. The reſolutions of their aſſemblies were no longer guided by reaſon, prudence, and equity, but by the intereſt and paſſions of the magiſtrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithſtanding, who was the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, had cauſed war to be declared againſt Sparta. Metellus had ſent to deſire that hoſtilities might ceaſe till the arrival of the commiſſioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who ſucceeded him, paid any regard to that requeſt. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waſte the country.

The commiſſioners being arrived, the aſſembly was ſummoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Oreſtes was at the head of the commiſſion.) The ſenate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to ſeparate as many cities as they could from it. Oreſtes notified to the aſſembly the decree of the ſenate; whereby Sparta,

[m] A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii. cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. p. 181—189. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence, that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans, a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their

their affairs in Africa, where they had been worſted in ſeveral engagements, and from the fear they were in, leſt the Achæan league ſhould declare againſt them.

The commiſſioners, however, were treated with ſufficient deference. They were told that Thearidas ſhould be ſent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa,* to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, till new commiſſioners ſhould arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their meaſures in ſuch a manner, that nobody, except that magiſtrate, went to the congreſs, and he did not arrive there, till he was almoſt no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any meaſures. He ſaid that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the conſent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be ſummoned in leſs than ſix months. That bad ſtratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having diſmiſſed the Lacedæmonians, he ſet out for Rome, where he deſcribed Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commiſſioners were no ſooner out of Peloponneſus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and ſummoned aſſemblies, under colour of communicating what had been ſaid to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives againſt the Romans, and to put an odious conſtruction upon all they had done, in order to inſpire the ſame ſpirit of animoſity and averſion, which he himſelf had againſt them; and he only ſucceeded too well. He, beſides, prohibited all judges from proſecuting and impriſoning any Achæan for debt, till the concluſion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he ſaid had all the effect he deſired, and diſpoſed the multitude to receive ſuch orders as he thought fit to give

* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they ſuffered themſelves to be caught with the bait of the firſt advantage he propoſed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponneſus, deputed thither four Romans of diſtinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was aſſembled there. They ſpoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themſelves, by imprudent raſhneſs and levity, the reſentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiouſly turned out of the aſſembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers roſe about them, and inſulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the reſt, and abandoned to a kind of madneſs. They had been perſuaded that Rome intended to enſlave them all, and abſolutely to deſtroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus ſeeing with pleaſure that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſhes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them againſt the magiſtrates, who did not enter into his views; flew out againſt the ambaſſadors themſelves, animated them againſt the Romans; and gave them to underſtand, that it was not without previous good meaſures he had undertaken to make head againſt the Romans; that he had kings in his party, and that the republics were alſo ready to join it. By theſe ſeditious diſcourſes he prevailed to have war declared againſt the Lacedæmonians, and, in conſequence, indirectly againſt the Romans. The ambaſſadors then ſeparated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to obſerve the motions of the enemy; another ſet out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magiſtrate of the Bœotians, whoſe name was Pytheas, equally raſh and violent with Critolaus, entered into his meaſures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with thoſe of the Achæans: they were diſcontented with a ſentence Rome had given againſt them. The city of Chalcis ſuffered itſelf alſo to be drawn into their party.

The

The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

[n] The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of

[n] A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

of that city, he ordered that the temples and houſes ſhould be ſpared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, ſhould be made priſoners or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miſeries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Mægara, the garriſon of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had ſhut himſelf up. He ſent thither three of the principal perſons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently deſired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants on their ſide, were equally deſirous of ſeeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus diſpoſing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into priſon, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not ſeen the multitude extremely enraged at the puniſhment he had inflicted upon Socrates, who talked of ſurrendering to the Romans. The priſoners were therefore diſmiſſed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had haſtened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and leſt another ſhould have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus reſigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had aſſembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their poſt, the beſieged made a ſally, attacked them vigorouſly, killed many, and purſued the reſt almoſt to the entrance of their camp. This ſmall advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the conſul battle. The latter, to augment his raſhneſs, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and preſumption of the Achæans roſe to an inexpreſſible height. They advanced furiouſly with all their troops, having placed

their

their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be ſpectators of the battle, and cauſed a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they ſhould take from the enemy; ſo fully did they aſſure themſelves of the victory.

Never was there a more raſh or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the ſervice and counſels all ſuch as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had ſubſtituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more abſolute maſters of the government, and ruling without oppoſition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an exceſs of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without neceſſity, inſtead of thinking of a long and brave defence in ſo ſtrong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous reſiſtance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the iſthmus. The conſul had poſted part of his horſe in an ambuſcade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, ſurpriſed by an unforeſeen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more reſiſtance; but, as it was neither covered nor ſuſtained by the horſe, it was ſoon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it ſome time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whoſe ſole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himſelf to his deſpair, he rode full ſpeed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his houſe, ſet fire to it, killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poiſon, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants loſt all hope of defending themſelves. As they found they were without counſel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make

* This place is not known.

make any further reſiſtance, and oblige the victor to grant them ſome ſupportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and moſt of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to ſave themſelves where they could. The conſul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers. All the men who were left in it were put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold; and after the ſtatues, paintings, and richeſt moveables, were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houſes were ſet on fire, and the whole city continued univerſally in flames for ſeveral days. From that time the Corinthian braſs became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, ſilver, and braſs, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demoliſhed, and raſed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the ſenate, to puniſh the inſolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambaſſadors ſent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the ſame year Carthage was taken and deſtroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes the ſon of Hippotes, ſixth in deſcent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raiſing new troops for the defence of the country, or ſummoned any aſſembly to deliberate upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propoſe any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appeaſe the Romans, by ſending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of that city alarmed, and univerſally diſmayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were alſo puniſhed by the demoliſhing of their walls, and by being diſarmed. The ten commiſſioners ſent by the ſenate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with

with the conſul, aboliſhed popular government in all the cities, and éſtabliſhed magiſtrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other reſpects, they were left in poſſeſſion of their laws and liberty. They aboliſhed alſo all the general aſſemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-eſtabliſhed ſoon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; becauſe at the taking Corinth, the Achæans were the moſt powerful people of Greece; the Roman people ſent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by deſtroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to ſhow that example of ſeverity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, raſh, and preſuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Beſides which, the advantageous ſituation of that city, where ſuch as revolted might canton themſelves, and make it a place of arms againſt the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not diſapprove of Carthage and Numantia being uſed in that manner, could have wiſhed that Corinth had been ſpared.

The booty taken at Corinth was ſold, and conſiderable ſums raiſed from it. Amongſt the paintings there was a piece drawn by the moſt celebrated † hand in Greece, ° repreſenting Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve, had the mortification to ſee that painting ſerve the ſoldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the ſale made of

° Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10.

* *Majores noſtri——Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus ſuſtulerunt. Sed credo illos ſecutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne poſſet aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipſe adhortari.* Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.

† This painter was called Ariſtides. The picture mentioned here, was in ſuch eſtimation, that it was commonly ſaid, All paintings are nothing in compariſon to the Bacchus.

of the booty, for ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is, about three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the ſame painter's, which the ſame Attalus purchaſed for an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns. That prince's riches were immenſe, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus.* Nevertheleſs thoſe ſums ſeem repugnant to probability. However it were, the conſul, ſurpriſed that the price of the painting in queſtion ſhould riſe ſo high, interpoſed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithſtanding the complaints of Attalus; becauſe he imagined there was ſome hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He * did not act in that manner for his private intereſt, nor with the view of appropriating it to himſelf, as he ſent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, ſays Cicero, he adorned and embelliſhed his houſe much more eſſentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richeſt and moſt opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble diſintereſtedneſs was at that time common in Rome, and ſeemed leſs the virtue of private perſons, than of the age itſelf. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's ſelf, was not only ſhameful and infamous, but a criminal abuſe. The painting we ſpeak of, was ſet up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to ſee it out of curioſity, as a maſter-piece of art, and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taſte for painting or ſculpture; the merit of which he did not diſtinguiſh; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or ſtatue and ſtatue, nor that the name of the great maſters in thoſe arts gave them their value. This

* *Numquid Lucius Mummius copioſior, cum copioſiſſimam urbem funditus ſubduxiſſet? Italiam ornare, quam domum ſuam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipſa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abſtinentiæ non hominis eſt ſolum, ſed etiam temporum—— Habere quæſtui temp. non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium,* Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

This he fully explained upon the preſent occaſion. * He had ordered perſons to take care of tranſporting many of the paintings and ſtatues of the moſt excellent maſters to Rome. Never had loſs been ſo irreparable, as that of ſuch a depoſite, conſiſting of the maſter-pieces of thoſe rare artiſts, who contributed, almoſt as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to poſterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to thoſe to whom he confided them, threatened them very ſeriouſly, that if the ſtatues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, ſhould be either loſt, or ſpoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt and charges.

Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays an hiſtorian, who has preſerved us this fact, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted; and would not ſuch a groſſneſs be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taſte of the preſent age for ſuch ſort of rarities? He ſpoke at a time when that taſte for excellent paintings amongſt the magiſtrates, was the occaſion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have ſaid that Polybius, on returning into Peloponneſus, had the affliction to ſee the deſtruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any [p] thing was capable of giving him conſolation in ſo mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his maſter in the ſcience of war. I have already obſerved, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the ſtatues, erected to that hero, taken down, had the imprudence to proſecute him criminally, as if he had been ſtill alive,

p Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

* *Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior.* Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.

alive, and to accuſe him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always oppoſed their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. That accuſation was extravagant, but had ſome colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He repreſented Philopœmen as the greateſt captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people conſiderable ſervices upon ſeveral occaſions; as in their wars againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commiſſioners, before whom he pleaded ſo noble a cauſe, moved with his reaſons, and ſtill more with his gratitude for his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of Philopœmen ſhould continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good diſpoſition, demanded alſo the ſtatues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponneſus into Acarnania. The Achæans were ſo charmed with the zeal Polybius had expreſſed upon this occaſion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a ſtatue of marble to himſelf.

He gave at the ſame time a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which did him as much honour amongſt his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the deſtruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to puniſh the authors of the inſult done to the Roman ambaſſadors, and their eſtates and effects were ſold by auction. When thoſe of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor who ſold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refuſed that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and ſhould have thought himſelf in ſome meaſure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; beſide which, he believed it infamous to enrich himſelf out of the ſpoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himſelf, but exhorted his friends not to deſire any thing of

what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners [q] conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription; "That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there [r] the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led before his chariot. Among the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

[q] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 193, &c. [r] Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

Mummius obtained alſo the honour of a triumph, and, in conſequence of having conquered Achaia, was ſurnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of ſtatues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of ſeveral other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own houſe.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the cauſes of the grandeur, declenſion, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having ſeen the final ruin of Greece, which has ſupplied us through a ſeries of ſo many ages with ſuch fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and conſider, by way of abridgement, and at one view, the riſe, progreſs, and declenſion of the principal ſtates, that compoſe it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The firſt and ſecond ages of Greece.

I ſhall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the firſt age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The ſecond age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Perſia, was in a manner its youth. In thoſe early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itſelf for thoſe great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length roſe ſo high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monſieur [s] Boſſuet obſerves, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who ſettling in ſeveral parts of the country, ſpread univerſally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exerciſes of the body, wreſtling, the horſe, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their

[s] Univerſal Hiſtory.

their higheſt perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the beſt thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to ſuffer themſelves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private perſons, who regard nothing but their own intereſts and concerns, and have no ſenſe of the calamities of the ſtate, but as they ſuffer themſelves, or as the repoſe of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to conſider themſelves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the ſtate. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more ſtrictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, inſtituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themſelves, and moſt of the cities formed themſelves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wiſe, reaſonable, and ſubſervient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from tranſacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Beſides this, the condition of private perſons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abuſing an authority, of which they might ſoon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, when under no reſtraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and paſſions, which generally occaſion the ruin of ſtates. They led a laborious and buſy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the huſbandman or the artiſt from the firſt dignities of the ſtate; preſerving between all the citizens and members of the ſtate a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or oſtentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not aſhamed of the moſt common functions either in the armies by land or ſea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, ſimplicity in buildings, moveables, dreſs, equipage, domeſtics, and table. It is ſurprizing to conſider the ſmall retributions with which they were ſatisfied for their application in public employments, and ſervices rendered the ſtate.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in theſe principles, and indued from their earlieſt infancy with maxims ſo proper to exalt the ſoul, and to inſpire it with great and noble ſentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could poſſibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, ſhut up within the ſame compaſs of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and ſhone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, ſome great and important occaſion was neceſſary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and expoſed to extreme dangers, was compelled in ſome meaſure to quit her home, and to ſhew herſelf abroad in open day ſuch as ſhe was. And this was ſupplied by the Perſians in their invaſions of Greece, firſt under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Aſia, armed with the whole force of the Eaſt, overflowed on a ſudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by ſea and land, againſt a little ſpot of Greece, which ſeemed under the neceſſity of being entirely ſwallowed up and overwhelmed at the firſt ſhock. Two ſmall cities however, Sparta and Athens, not only reſiſt thoſe formidable armies, but attack, defeat, purſue, and deſtroy the greateſt part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and

and fortitude, which ſhone out at that time, and continued to do ſo long after on like occaſions. To what were the Greeks indebted for ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, ſo much above all probability, unleſs to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a ſecond nature in them?

Thoſe principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, diſregard of ſelf-intereſt, attention to the public good, deſire of glory, love of their country; but above all, ſuch a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and ſuch an irreconcileable abhorrence for whoever conceived the leaſt thought againſt it, as united their counſels, and put an end to all diſſenſion and diſcord in a moment.

There was ſome difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that ſide they were perfectly equal. The ſtates of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occaſions ſo many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandiſing themſelves, or of making conqueſts, at the expence of each other. They confined themſelves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to uſurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their territory, did not apprehend invaſion from the more powerful. This occaſioned ſuch a multitude of cities, republics, and ſtates of Greece, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with ſome attention the conduct of theſe people, either at home or abroad, their aſſemblies, deliberations, and motives for the reſolutions they take, we cannot ſufficiently admire the wiſdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourſelves, from whence could ariſe this greatneſs of ſoul in

the

the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence theſe noble ſentiments, this conſummate wiſdom in politics, this profound and univerſal knowledge in the art of war; whether for the invention and conſtruction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or for the drawing up and diſpoſing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that ſupreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which ſo glorioufly acquired them the empire of the ſea, and obliged he Perſians to renounce it for ever by a ſolemn treaty?

We ſee here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conqueſts, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had ſubmitted to the Roman yoke, Aſia, ſubdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuouſneſs; and that change of manners was very ſudden and rapid, eſpecially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was deſtroyed. It was not ſo with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Perſians; nothing more ſoothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illuſtrious exploits. After ſo glorious a period, the Greeks long perſevered in the ſame love of ſimplicity, frugality, and poverty; the ſame remoteneſs from pomp and luxury; the ſame zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preſervation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the iſlands and provinces of Aſia Minor, over which the Greeks ſo often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleaſures and luxury: they, however, never ſuffered themſelves to be infected by that contagious ſoftneſs, and conſtantly preſerved themſelves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make thoſe countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and ſilver into Sparta, from whence they were baniſhed under ſevere penalties, did not happen till about fourſcore years after the battle of Salamin,

Salamin, and the ancient ſimplicity of manners ſubſiſted very long afterwards, notwithſtanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be ſaid of the reſt of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate, but ſlowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to ſhew.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cauſe of the weakening and declenſion of the Greeks was the diſunion which roſe up amongſt themſelves. The Perſians, who had found them invincible on the ſide of arms, as long as their union ſubſiſted, applied their whole attention and policy in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord amongſt them. For that reaſon they employed their gold and ſilver, which ſucceeded much better than their ſteel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked inviſibly in this manner by bribes ſecretly conveyed into the hands of thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in their governments, were divided by domeſtic jealouſies, and turned their victorious arms againſt themſelves, which had rendered them ſuperior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from theſe cauſes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to ſubject them. Thoſe princes, to accuſtom them to ſervitude the more agreeable, coloured their deſign with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that groſs ſnare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke impoſed on them by the hands which had conquered the univerſe, could never be removed; thoſe little ſtates were no longer in a condition to ſhake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, rouzed from its lethargy, and made ſome attempts to re-inſtate itſelf in its ancient condition; but thoſe efforts were ill concerted, and as ill ſuſtained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its ſlavery; becauſe the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, ſoon made themſelves its maſters.

So

So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power[t] that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla,[u] who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey,[x] who fought for the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After

t Strab. l. ix. & l. xlvii p. 339. u Plut. in Sylla. x Diod. l. xliii. p. 191.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they ſtill retained another ſovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themſelves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the ſciences, the ſchool of polite arts, and the center and ſtandard of refined taſte in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæſarea, Alexandria, Epheſus, and Rhodes, ſhared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened ſchools which beame very famous. Rome, all haughty as ſhe was, aeknowledged this glorious empire. She ſent her moſt illuſtrious citizens to be finiſhed and refined in Greece. They were inſtructed there in all the parts of ſound philoſophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the ſcience of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reaſoning with juſtice and method: All the treaſures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greateſt ſubjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perſpicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted ſomething, and did not bluſh to become the diſciple of the great maſters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midſt of his glorious conqueſts, did not think it a diſhonour to him, in paſſing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philoſophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himſelf in ſome meaſure their diſciple.

Nothing ſhews better the reſpect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny [y] the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus appointed governour of that province by Trajan: "Call "to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going into "Achaia, the true Greece, the ſame Greece where "learning and the polite arts had their birth; where "even agriculture was invented, according to the com-"mon opinion. Remember, that you are ſent to govern "free cities and free men, if ever any ſuch there were; "who by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and "religion, have known how to preſerve the liberty they

[y] Lib. viii. c. 24.

" received from nature. Revere the gods their founders; " reſpect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, " and the ſacred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, " great exploits, and even fables and vanity of that peo- " ple. Remember, it is from thoſe ſources that we " have derived our law; that we did not impoſe our " laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but " that they gave us theirs, at our requeſt, before they " were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a " word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæ- " mon you are to command. It would be inhuman and " barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that " ſhadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilſt the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always ſupported itſelf, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was reſorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, thoſe great lights of the church, St. Bazil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chryſoſtom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their ſource, all the profane ſciences. The emperors themſelves, [z] who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the moſt celebrated philoſophers into their palaces, in order to their being intruſted with the education of their children, and to improve themſelves by their inſtructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilſt he was emperor, went to hear the philoſophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take leſſons from them as a common diſciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had impoſed its laws on Egypt, and the whole Eaſt, from whence ſhe had expelled barbariſm, and introduced a taſte for the arts and ſciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conqueſt, all thoſe nations to receive her language and adopt her cuſtoms: A teſtimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illuſtrious ſuperiority, than that not founded in merit, but ſolely upon the force of arms. Plutarch obſerves ſomewhere,

[z] Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

ſomewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not underſtand Greek, was in no great eſtimation.

ARTICLE III.

IT ſeems, that after the ſubjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our hiſtory, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, thoſe of Egypt and Syria, ſhould become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obſcure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, eſpecially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which ſeveral kings not only ſucceed one another in a ſhort ſpace, but ſometimes reign jointly, and, at the ſame time, to the number of three or four, which occaſions a confuſion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myſelf. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, ſucceſſion, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This ſmall chronological abridgment may contribute to caſt ſome light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and ſerve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the moſt clear-ſighted will have occaſion for aſſiſtance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be paſſed over, and recourſe be only had to it, when it is neceſſary to be ſet right: I inſert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the ſpace of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulſion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world three thouſand eight hundred and forty-five, to three thouſand nine hundred and forty-ſix.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the ſame article contains alſo almoſt the ſpace of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Aſiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thouſand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thouſand nine hundred and thirty-nine.

SECT.

SECT. 1. *A chronological abridgement of the history of the kings*

A.M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something more than thirty-four years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Physcon

of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. 3840.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopater, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seises the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemæus Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter. 3859.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR.	3859.
	ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seises part of the kingdom. 3860.
	DIODOTES TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne. 3861.
Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years.	3863.

Demetrius

3874. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

PTOLEMY

KINGS OF SYRIA.		A. M.
	ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife, marries him.	3864.
	Antiochus Sidetes marches againſt the Parthians.	3873.
Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	The Parthians ſend back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is ſlain.	3874.
Demetrius is killed by Zebina.	ALEXANDER ZEBINA, ſupported by Phyſcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed ſoon after.	3877.
Cleopatra wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.		
SELEUCUS V. eldeſt ſon of Demetrius, is declared king, and ſoon after killed by Cleopatra.		3880.
ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.		3881.
	Zebina is overthrown by Grypus and dies ſoon after.	3882.
Cleopatra deſigns to poiſon Grypus, and is poiſoned herſelf.		3884.

Grypus.

3887. PTOLEMY LATHYRNS, or SOTER, ſucceeds Phyſcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldeſt ſiſter, and marry Selena his youngeſt ſiſter.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: He had reigned ten years. She ſets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

Alexander

ANTIOCHUS THE CYZICENIAN, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus. 3890.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena wife of Grypus. 3891.

The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria. 3892.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenian.

The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria. 3893.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus. 3903.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty seven years. 3907.

SELEUCUS his son succeeds him

Antiochus the Cyzicenian is overthrown, and put to death. 3910.

Seleucus

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916. Alexander is expelled himself: he had reigned nineteen years. He died soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

Death

KINGS OF SYRIA. A.M.

Seleuchusisoverthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king. 3911.

Eusebesmarries Selena widow of Grypus.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleuchus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes. 3912.

PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him. 3913.

DEMETRIUS EUCHARES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus. 3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians. 3916.

He is re-established upon the throne by their means. 3918.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.

The

3923. Death of Lathyrus.
ALEXANDER II. ſon of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is choſen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwiſe Berenice, and kills her ſeventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.
3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, baſtard ſon of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A.M.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years. 3921.

Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selena his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years. 3935.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him. 3939.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Antiochus Eupator, aged nineteen, ſucceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long an hoſtage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus againſt the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himſelf in perſon. Long differences between the two Ptolemies, brothers, and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.*

WE have long loſt ſight of the * hiſtory of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no ſmall connection with each other. I am now going to reſume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus ſurnamed Eupator,[a] aged only nineteen ſucceeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, ſent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his ſon's minority, and put his crown, ſignet, and all other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his ſon in ſuch a manner, as was moſt proper to inſtruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had uſurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lyſias, upon the firſt advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his ſon Antiochus upon the throne, whoſe governour he was, and had taken upon himſelf, with the guardianſhip, the reins of the government without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to diſpute it with him, and retired into Egypt in

[a] A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10—13. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

* It is treated laſt towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. II. and III.

in hopes of finding, at that court the assistance he wanted for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time Ptolemy Macron, governour of Cœlosyria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, they did so much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government which was given to Lysias; no other post, or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus [b] at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of GOD, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in

[b] 1 Maccab. v. 16—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

in the ſame principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whoſe ſole view was to ſhake off their chains, and to ſupport themſelves in liberty of conſcience, with regard to religion. Such were the diſpoſitions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

Demetrius, [c] ſon of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hoſtage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the acceſſion of his ſon Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the ſon of Epiphanes's eldeſt brother. He propoſed to the ſenate his re-eſtabliſhment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he repreſented, that having been bred up at Rome, he ſhould always regard it as his native country, the ſenators as his fathers, and their ſons as his brothers. The ſenate had more regard for the intereſts of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there ſhould be a king, in his minority upon the throne of Syria than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and ſent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambaſſadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The ſame ambaſſadors had inſtructions to accommodate, if poſſible, the differences of the two kings of Egypt.

Lyſias [d], terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourſcore thouſand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of his kingdom, with fourſcore elephants: at the head of all theſe forces he marched into Judæa, with the reſolution to ſettle ſtrange inhabitants that worſhipped idols in Jeruſalem. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bethſura, a fortreſs between Idumæa and Jeruſalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beſeeched the LORD, with tears in their eyes, to ſend

[c] A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. [d] 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joſeph. Antiq. c. xii.

ſend his angel for the preſervation of Iſrael. Full of confidence in GOD, they took the field. When they marched all together, with aſſured courage, out of Jeruſalem, there * appeared a horſeman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That ſight filled them with new ardour. They threw themſelves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thouſand ſix hundred men, and obliged the reſt to fly, moſt of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lyſias [e] weary of ſo unſucceſsful a war, and, as the ſcripture ſays, "believing the Jews invincible, when ſupported by the aid of the Almighty GOD," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewiſh nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, ſhould be revoked and cancelled, and that they ſhould be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repoſe. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, aſſembled all his forces, and raiſed an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, without including the horſe, which amounted to five-and-twenty thouſand. Judas, full of confidence in the GOD of armies, marched againſt him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus loſt thirty thouſand men in this battle, and ſaved himſelf with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the ſide of Judas, which proved, that GOD alone is the ſource of valour, intrepidity, and ſucceſs in war. He ſhowed this in the moſt ſenſible manner, by the evident and ſingular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raiſed of an hundred thouſand foot

[e] 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

* It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of GOD.

with twenty thouſand horſe, two-and-thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in perſon, with Lyſias the regent of the kingdom, put themſelves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of GOD, the creator of the univerſe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the laſt drop of their blood, marched and poſted himſelf in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, THE VICTORY OF GOD, he choſe the braveſt men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thouſand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confuſion and diſmay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He reſolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, ſeeing an elephant larger than the reſt, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, ſacrificed himſelf to preſerve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all who oppoſed him. Then placing himſelf under the beaſt's belly, he pierced it in ſuch a manner, that it fell and cruſhed him to death underneath it.

Judas however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary reſolution. But at length, exhauſted by the fatigue, and no longer able to ſupport the weight of the enemy, they choſe to retire. The king followed them, and beſieged the fortreſs of Bethſura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched againſt Jeruſalem, and beſieged the temple. Thoſe who defended it were reduced to the ſame extremities with the garriſon of Bethſura,

fura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seised the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

The troubles [f] occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome, on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprised

[f] A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60. & 68. Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he cauſed royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his uſe. He found him twenty-ſix miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues diſtance from Rome. Ptolemy expreſſed great gratitude to him for his goodneſs, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his preſent, nor permit him to attend him the reſt of his journey. He finiſhed it on foot, and with the ſame attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very ſmall houſe. His deſign, by all theſe circumſtances, was to expreſs the miſery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compaſſion of the Romans.

When the ſenate were informed of his arrival, they ſent to deſire he would come to them; and to excuſe their not having prepared a houſe for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the cuſtom to treat princes of his rank. They aſſured him, that it was neither for want of conſideration for his perſon, nor out of neglect, but becauſe his coming had ſurpriſed them, and had been kept ſo ſecret, that they were not appriſed of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having deſired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the ſenate, in order to explain the occaſion of his voyage, he was conducted by ſome of the ſenators to a houſe ſuitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæſtors and treaſurers, to ſee him ſerved and ſupplied, at the expence of the public, with all things neceſſary during his reſidence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had repreſented his condition to the Romans, they immediately reſolved to re-eſtabliſh him; and deputed two of the ſenators, with the character of ambaſſadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cauſe their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and

ſucceeded in negociating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Phyſcon: Philometor had Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions aſſigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the cuſtomary oaths and ſacrifices.

But oaths and ſacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than ſimple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themſelves bound in the leaſt. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngeſt of the two kings, diſſatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in perſon to complain of it to the ſenate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition ſhould be annulled, and that he ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the neceſſity of the times, to comply with the former propoſals, and that, though Cyprus ſhould be granted him, his part would ſtill be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Phyſcon held not only Lybia and Cyrenaica, but his life alſo, from the goodneſs of his brother; that he had made himſelf ſo much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother ſnatched him from their reſentment, by making himſelf mediator. That at the time he was preſerved from this danger, he thought himſelf too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both ſides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and ſworn to obſerve their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negociated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The ſenate, ſeeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminiſh the ſtrength of the kingdom of

of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During [g] that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Lybia with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The

g Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time,[h] informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being poſſeſſed of the government at Alexandria, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion for him, that they reſolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite thoſe troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almoſt loſt all hope, ſent two deputies with the Roman ambaſſadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints againſt his brother before the ſenate, and to ſolicit their protection. The ſenate, offended at Philometor's refuſal to evacuate the iſland of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambaſſadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in Cyrenaica, but made himſelf ſo generally hated by his ſubjects, through his ill conduct, that ſome of them fell upon him and wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead upon the ſpot. He aſcribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints againſt him to the ſenate, ſhowed the ſcars of his wounds, and accuſed him of having employed the aſſaſſins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the moſt humane of all princes, and could not be the leaſt ſuſpected of ſo black and barbarous an action, the ſenate, who were angry at his refuſal to ſubmit to the regulation they had made in regard to the iſle of Cyprus, gave ear to this falſe accuſation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice ſo high againſt him, that they would not ſo much as hear what his ambaſſadors had to ſay in his defence. Orders were ſent them to quit Rome immediately. Beſides which, the ſenate appointed five commiſſioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in poſſeſſion of that iſland, and wrote to all their allies

[h] A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 334.

allies near it to aid him for that purpoſe with all their troops.

[i] Phyſeon, by this means, with an army which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in the iſland. Philometor, who had gone thither in perſon, beat him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Lapitho, where he was ſoon inveſted, beſieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had ſo cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodneſs appeared upon this occaſion. After all that Phyſcon had done againſt him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him ſenſible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even reſtored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added further ſome amends in lieu of the iſle of Cyprus. That act of generoſity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were aſhamed of oppoſing any longer a prince of ſuch extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not ſecretly pay the homage of eſteem and admiration to ſo generous an action. Such inward ſentiments which riſe from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanneſs of ſoul there is in the reſentment of the revengeful.

[i] A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

SECT. III. *Octavius, ambaſſador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius eſcapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, aſcends the throne of Syria, and aſſumes the name of Soter. He makes war againſt the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus: death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himſelf to drunkenneſs and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conſpiracy againſt him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander eſpouſes the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius ſon of the firſt of that name, ſets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is deſtroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the ſame time.*

WE have [a] ſeen that the principal object of the commiſſion of the three Roman ambaſſadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went firſt into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ſhips and elephants than had been ſtipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Mount Sipylus. They cauſed the ſhips to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number ſtated in that treaty, and diſpoſed all things elſe in ſuch a manner as they thought moſt to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment ſeemed inſupportable, and exaſperated the people againſt them. A perſon named Leptinus, was ſo incenſed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilſt he was bathing, and killed him. It was ſuſpected that Lyſias, the regent of the kingdom, had ſecretly a hand in this aſſaſſination. Ambaſſadors

[a] A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat cxiv. & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Juſtin. l. xxxiv, c. 3.

* This Octavius had been conſul ſome years before, and was the firſt of his family who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4.—Octavius, who became emperor, ſo well known under the name of Auguſtus, was of the ſame family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the conſular dignity had never entered.

were immediately ſent to Rome, to juſtify the king, and to proteſt, that he had no ſhare in the action. The ſenate ſent them back without giving them any anſwer, to ſignify, by that ſilence, their indignation for the murther committed upon the perſon of Octavius, of which they reſerved the examination and puniſhment to themſelves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a ſtatue to him amongſt thoſe of the great men, who had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the diſguſt of the Romans againſt Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addreſſed himſelf a ſecond time to the ſenate, to obtain their permiſſion to return into Syria. He took this ſtep contrary to the opinion of the greateſt part of his friends, who adviſed him to make his eſcape, without ſaying any thing. The event ſoon ſhowed him how much they were in the right. As the ſenate had always the ſame motives of intereſt for keeping him at Rome as at firſt, he received the ſame anſwer, and had the mortification of a ſecond denial. He had then recourſe to the firſt advice of his friends; and Polybius, the hiſtorian, who was at Rome, was one of thoſe who preſſed him with warmth to put it in immediate execution with ſecreſy. He took his advice. After concerting all his meaſures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting-match, went to Oſtia, and embarked with a ſmall train in a Carthaginian veſſel bound for Tyre that waited for him*. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had ſtolen away. All that the ſenate could do, was ſome days after to ſend Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to obſerve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius [b] having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report ſpread, that the ſenate had ſent him to take poſſeſſion of

[b] 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. & 2. Maccab. xiv. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* That ſhip carried to Tyre, according to cuſtom, the firſt fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seised by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the

laſt defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men ſhould make head againſt ſuch numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the GOD of Iſrael, and in the promiſes made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thouſand blaſphemies againſt the Almighty, and againſt his temple. He was ſoon puniſhed for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thouſand men, not one eſcaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongſt the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up againſt the temple when he threatened to deſtroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jeruſalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having ſome relaxation, ſent an embaſſy to Rome. He ſaw himſelf continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reaſonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from intereſting themſelves for the preſervation of the Jewiſh nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally eſteemed for their juſtice and valour, were always ready to ſupport weak nations againſt the oppreſſion of kings, whoſe power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it neceſſary to make an alliance with that people, in order to ſupport himſelf by their protection againſt the unjuſt enterpriſes of the Syrians. Thoſe ambaſſadors were very well received by the ſenate, who paſſed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defenſive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the ſenate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to diſtreſs the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in caſe he perſevered to do ſo. But before the ambaſſadors returned, Judas was dead.

As ſoon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, compoſed of the choiceſt of all

all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was deplored throughout all Judea and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius [c] indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negociation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity, [d] he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown,

[c] A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 162. Polyb. Legat. cxx. [d] A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

crown that weighed ten thouſand pieces * of gold, as a preſent from him to the ſenate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hoſtage at Rome. They carried alſo with them Leptinus and Iſocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the aſſaſſination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the perſon who killed him at Laodicea. Iſocrates was a Greek, by profeſſion a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occaſions taken upon him to vindicate that equally baſe and unjuſt action. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with all the uſual honours, and accepted the preſent they brought; but would neither hear nor ſee two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reſerving to themſelves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleaſed, a more diſtinguiſhed ſatisfaction for the murther of their ambaſſador.

[e] It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have obſerved before, eſtabliſhed Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was ſoon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to ſee how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, [f] who found himſelf without war or occupation, began to give into pleaſure, and to lead an idle life, not a little ſingular and fantaſtic in the manner of it. He cauſed a caſtle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and ſhut himſelf up in it, for the ſake of abandoning himſelf entirely on the one ſide to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleaſure of good chear and exceſs of wine. He was drunk at leaſt one half of the day. The memorials, which people were deſirous of preſenting to him, were never received; juſtice was not adminiſtered; the affairs of the ſtate languiſhed; in a word, there was a general ſuſpenſe of government; which ſoon ſtirred up the whole people againſt him. A conſpiracy was formed for depoſing him. Holophernes, who

[e] A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. [f] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* They were worth more than ten thouſand piſtoles.

who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf with obtaining the crown if the enterpriſe ſucceeded. It was diſcovered, and Holophernès put in priſon. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He choſe rather to ſpare him, in order to make uſe of him upon occaſion againſt Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whoſe crown he had ſome pretenſions.

Notwithſtanding the diſcovery, the conſpiracy was not ſuppreſſed [g]. The malcontents were ſupported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themſelves for the war Demetrius had undertaken againſt them in favour of Holophernes. Thoſe three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing ſomebody to perſonate the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to ſet up hereditary pretenſions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have ſaid already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treaſurer of the province of Babylon, at the ſame time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malverſation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his eſcape, had taken up his reſidence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the deſign I have mentioned. He choſe for that purpoſe a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and inſtructed him fully in all that it was neceſſary to ſay or do.

[h] When he was fully prepared, he began by cauſing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the ſecret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did alſo Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the impoſture. By force of addreſs and ſolicitations, he cauſed him to be acknowledged there

[g] Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. & cxl. Appian in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1.—50. [h] A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

there alſo, and obtained a decree of the ſenate in his favour, which not only gave him permiſſion to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. Though the ſenate plainly ſaw through the impoſture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing deſired of them againſt Demetrius, with whom they were diſſatisfied, and paſſed that decree in favour of the impoſtor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raiſe troops. He then ſeiſed upon Ptolemais in Paleſtine, and there, under the name of Alexander, ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, aſſumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his caſtle and his indolence, and apply himſelf to his defence. He aſſembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed alſo on his ſide. The aſſiſtance of Jonathan was of great conſequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him firſt, and ſent him the commiſſion of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much ſuperior to all his enemies.

Alexander ſeeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make propoſals alſo to him, in order to bring him over to his ſide. He made him high-prieſt, granted him the title of "Friend of the king," ſent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the firſt rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, ſtill outbid him, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch importance. But after the injuries he had done to all thoſe who had the true intereſt of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and reſolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-prieſthood from him, and with the conſent of the whole people, at the feaſt of the tabernacles,

tabernacles, which happened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical veſtments, and officiated as high-prieſt.

The place had been vacant ſeven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-prieſthood, which at that time came into the Aſmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he diſpoſed of at pleaſure.

[i] The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good ſenſe, when his reaſon was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander ſoon received new troops from the three kings who had ſet him up, and continued to ſupport him vigorouſly. Having, beſides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his ſide, he retrieved himſelf, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deſerted alſo, becauſe they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their ſecurity in caſe of misfortune. He confided them, with a conſiderable ſum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident ſhould happen, that they might remain there in ſafety, and wait ſome favourable conjuncture.

[k] It was at the ſame time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriſcus played the ſame part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

[l] The two competitors for the crown of Syria having aſſembled all their troops, proceeded to a deciſive battle. At firſt Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which oppoſed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the purſuit, a common fault in battles, and which almoſt always occaſions their being loſt, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought

[i] A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. [k] A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.
[l] A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

fought in perſon, routed, and the king himſelf killed in the purſuit. As long as he had been in a condition to ſupport the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his ſucceſs. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horſe plunged into a bog, where thoſe who purſued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory, found himſelf maſter of the empire of Syria.

As ſoon as [m] Alexander ſaw himſelf at repoſe, he ſent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in perſon to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feaſt, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all poſſible marks of honour.

Onias, ſon of Onias III. having [n] been diſappointed of the high-prieſthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and moſt intimate confident. He made uſe of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permiſſion for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jeruſalem; aſſuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party againſt Antiochus Epiphanes: at the ſame time the high-prieſthood there was granted to him and his deſcendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer ſacrifices in any place but the temple of Jeruſalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a paſſage in Iſaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in theſe terms: [o] "In that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan, and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts; the one ſhall be called the *city of deſtruction.*" (M. Rollin ſays, the city of the ſun, or Heliopolis.)

[m] 1 Maccab. x. 51—66. [n] Joſeph. contra. Appian. l. ii.
[o] Iſa. xix. 18—21.

Heliopolis.) "In that day ſhall there be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it ſhall be for a ſign and for a witneſs unto the Lord of Hoſts in the land of Egypt; for they ſhall cry unto the Lord becauſe of the oppreſſors, and he ſhall ſend them a ſaviour and a great one, and he ſhall deliver them. And the Lord ſhall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians ſhall know the Lord in that day, and ſhall do ſacrifice and oblation, yea, they ſhall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The event here foretold by Iſaiah, is one of the moſt ſingular, and, at the ſame time, the moſt remote from all probability. Nothing was more ſtrictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer ſacrifices to GOD, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jeruſalem; how much more, in conſequence, to build a temple elſewhere, eſpecially in a land polluted with the moſt groſs idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to paſs, exactly as the prophet Iſaiah had foretold. I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial expoſition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my ſubject.

[p] Alexander Bala,[q] finding himſelf in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleaſures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himſelf therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That inſolent and cruel miniſter put to death Laodice, the ſiſter of Demetrius, and widow of Perſeus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's ſon, who had continued in Syria when the two others were ſent to Cnidos; in fine, all the perſons of the blood-royal he could.

[p] A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. [q] Liv. Epit. lib. 1. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Joſ. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army, formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander: but his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

[r] Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius, against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which

r A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

which he engaged to aid him in re-aſcending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to ſhow their reſentment. Having diſcovered him diſguiſed like a woman, they ſacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared againſt Alexander himſelf and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have ſet him upon the throne. But that prince, aſſuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, inſtead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his anceſtors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

[s] Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmoſt diligence, and put all to fire and ſword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horſe to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entruſted his children. Betrayed by the perſon in whom he had placed moſt confidence, his head was cut off, and ſent to Ptolemy, who expreſſed great joy at the ſight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died ſome few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt died at the ſame time; the firſt after a reign of five years, and the ſecond after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, aſſumed the ſurname of *Nicator*, that is to ſay the Conqueror. The ſucceſſion of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

[s] A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.
* He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seises Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and debauches. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seises them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

[t] CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place [u] the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thurmus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he

[t] A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. [u] Joseph. contr. App. l. ii Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. ix. c. 1.

he took himself was *Evergetes*, which signifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to say, on the contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria [x] affairs went on little better. Demetrius a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies by depriving

x Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20—37. Joseph Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

depriving them of the ſole means they had to ſubſiſt. He found this fully verified in the inſurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan however, ſeeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the deſign of delivering the nation at length from the evils it ſuffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters ſtill held in Jeruſalem. He inveſted it, and cauſed machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occaſion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for puſhing the ſiege vigorouſly in his abſence, and ſet out to meet him with ſome of the prieſts and principal perſons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent preſents, and appeaſed the king and his miniſters ſo ſucceſsfully, that he not only cauſed the accuſations, which had been formed againſt him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was diſcharged from all duties, cuſtoms, and tributes, for the ſum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch [y], and continuing to give himſelf up immoderately to all kind of exceſſes, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhauſted, and the whole nation diſpoſed for a general revolt.

Diodotus afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon, who had formerly ſerved Alexander, and had ſhared the government of Antioch with Hierax, ſeeing the people in this diſpoſition, found the occaſion favourable for attempting an hardy enterpriſe, which was to ſet the crown upon his own head, by the favour of theſe diſorders. He went into

y Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. ix. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian in Syr p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. lii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

* Three hundred thouſand crowns.

into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the perſon and education of Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander Bala, had been entruſted. He laid a ſtate of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the diſcontent of the people, and in particular of the ſoldiery, and ſtrongly repreſented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for ſetting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince ſhould be put into his hands, in order to his being reſtored to his rights. His view was to make uſe of the pretenſions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himſelf of the young prince, and aſſume the crown to himſelf, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real deſign, or did not entirely approve his ſcheme, did not give into it at firſt. Tryphon was obliged to continue a conſiderable time with him, to ſolicit and preſs him. At length, between the force of importunity and preſents, he gained Zabdiel's conſent, and obtained what he demanded.

[z] Jonathan carried on the ſiege of the citadel of Jeruſalem with vigour, but ſeeing that he made no progreſs, he ſent Deputies to Demetrius, to deſire that he would withdraw the garriſon which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himſelf involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible averſion for his perſon and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would ſend troops to chaſtiſe the mutineers. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men immediately. As ſoon as the king had them, believing himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake every thing, he reſolved to diſarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they ſhould all deliver up their arms. Upon this they roſe, to the number of ſix-ſcore thouſand men, and inveſted the palace, with deſign to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to diſengage him, diſperſed the multitude with fire and ſword, burnt a great part of the

[z] A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

city, and killed or deſtroyed very near an hundred thouſand of the inhabitants. The reſt, intimidated by ſo great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceaſed. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jeruſalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppreſſions, put many more perſons to death for the laſt ſedition, confiſcated the eſtates of others, and baniſhed a great number. All his ſubjects conceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that there wanted nothing but an occaſion for riſing, and making him experience the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preſerved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not obſerve the treaty he had made with him. Though the ſum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not deſiſt from demanding all the uſual impoſts, cuſtoms, and tributes, with the ſame rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilſt things were in this unſteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, into Syria, and cauſed his pretenſions to the crown to be declared by a manifeſto. The ſoldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crouds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his enſigns againſt Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire into Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themſelves maſters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the ſurname of *Theos*, which ſignifies *the God*.

Jonathan diſcontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new

king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commiſſion was ſent them, whereby they were empowered to raiſe troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Of theſe troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted ſeparately, and obtained ſeveral victories over the enemy.

Tryphon,[a] ſeeing all things brought to the deſired point for executing the project he had formed of deſtroying Antiochus, and of poſſeſſing himſelf of the crown of Syria, found no other obſtacle to his deſign, than on the other part of Jonathan, whoſe probity he knew too well even to ſound him upon entering into his views. He reſolved therefore to rid himſelf, at whatever price it coſt him, of ſo formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came alſo to Bethſan at the head of forty thouſand men. Tryphon perceived that he ſhould get nothing by force againſt ſo powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuſe him with fine words, and the warmeſt aſſurances of a ſincere friendſhip. He gave him to underſtand, that he was come thither only to conſult him upon their common intereſts, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was reſolved to make him a preſent of as a free gift. He deceived him ſo well by theſe proteſtations of friendſhip, and obliging offers, that he diſmiſſed all his troops, except three thouſand men, of which he kept only one thouſand about his perſon. He ſent the reſt towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of it. He had no ſooner entered the place, than the gates were ſhut upon him. Jonathan was immediately ſeiſed, and all his followers put to the ſword. Troops were alſo detached directly to follow and ſurpriſe the two thouſand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what happened to Jonathan

[a] 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

and his troops at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themſelves well, and to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were ſuffered to proceed, and arrived all ſafe at Jeruſalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not loſe courage. They choſe Simon by univerſal conſent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, ſet themſelves at work with all poſſible ſpeed to complete the fortifications, began by Jonathan, at Jeruſalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched againſt him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourſe to the ſame artifices which had ſucceeded ſo well with Jonathan. He ſent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arreſt, becauſe he owed the king an hundred talents; * that if he would ſend him that ſum, and Jonathan's two ſons as hoſtages for their father's fidelity, he would cauſe him to be ſet at liberty. Though Simon ſaw clearly, that this propoſal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reaſon to reproach himſelf with being the occaſion of his brother's death, by refuſing to comply with it, he ſent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithſtanding, did not releaſe his priſoner, but returned a ſecond time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with deſign to put all things to fire and ſword. Simon kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he fruſtrated his deſigns, and obliged to him to retire.

[d] Tryphon, on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, cauſed Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus ſecretly. He then cauſed it to be given out, that he was dead of the ſtone, and at the ſame time declared himſelf king of Syria in his ſtead,

[d] A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. xxxi.

* An hundred thouſand crowns.

ſtead, and took poſſeſſion of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he ſent to fetch his bones, interred them in the ſepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon paſſionately deſired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His uſurpation was ſo unſteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was abſolutely neceſſary to his ſupport. He ſent them a magnificent embaſſy, with a golden ſtatue of Victory of ten thouſand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the ſtatue, and cauſed the name of Antiochus, whom he had aſſaſſinated, to be inſerted upon the inſcription, as if it had come from him.

The ambaſſadors ſent by Simon to Rome [e] were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predeceſſors renewed with him.

[f] Demetrius in the mean time amuſed himſelf with diverſions at Laodicea, [g] and abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debauches, without becoming more wiſe from adverſity, and without ſo much as ſeeming to have the leaſt ſenſe of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews juſt reaſon to oppoſe him and his party, Simon ſent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambaſſadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and impoſts, with a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility; upon condition that the Jews ſhould join him againſt Tryphon.

Demetrius at length [h] recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the Eaſt, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almoſt over-run the whole Eaſt, and ſubjected all the countries of Aſia, between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants

[e] 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40. [f] A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. [g] Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. & xiv. 38—41. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11. [h] Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5. & 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Oroſius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

bitants of thoſe countries, who were deſcended from the Macedonians, not being able to ſuffer that uſurpation, and the haughty inſolence of their new maſters, extremely ſolicited Demetrius, by repeated embaſſies, to come and put himſelf at their head; aſſured him of a general inſurrection againſt the Parthians; and promiſed to ſupply him with a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the Eaſt. Full of theſe hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and paſſed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himſelf maſter of the Eaſt, with that increaſe of power he ſhould be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As ſoon as he appeared in the Eaſt, the Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in ſeveral engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuſcade, where he was made priſoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took ſuch firm footing, that it ſupported itſelf for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themſelves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians was Mithridates, ſon of Priapatius, a valiant and wiſe prince. We have ſeen in what manner Arſaces founded, and his ſon Arſaces II. eſtabliſhed and fixed this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the ſon of the ſecond Arſaces, and ſucceeded him; he was called alſo Arſaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldeſt ſon Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference* to his own children, becauſe he had diſcovered more

* *Non multo poſt deceſſit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, frati potiſſimum Mithridati, inſignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiuſque patriæ quam libertis conſulendum.* JUSTIN.

more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the ſtate, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in ſome meaſure, that he is a father, to remember ſolely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whoſe hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having ſubdued the Medes, Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrians, extended his conqueſts even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, ſubjected alſo Babylonia and Meſopotamia, ſo that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the Weſt, and the Ganges on the Eaſt.

He carried Demetrius his priſoner into all the provinces that ſtill adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to ſubmit to him, by ſhowing them the perſon they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, ſent him into Hyrcania, which was aſſigned him for his place of reſidence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a priſoner of war, though in other reſpects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His ſon Phraates, who ſucceeded him, treated him in the ſame manner.

It is obſerved particularly of this Mithridates, that having ſubjected ſeveral different nations, he took from each of them whatever was beſt in their laws and cuſtoms, and out of them compoſed an excellent body of laws and maxims of ſtate, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious uſe of his victories; by ſo much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almoſt unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wiſe cuſtoms of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himſelf out of their ſpoils. It was by this means, that Mithridates eſtabliſhed the empire of the Parthians upon ſolid foundations, gave it a firm conſiſtency, effectually attached the conquered provinces

provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which ſubſiſted many ages without change or revolution, notwithſtanding the diverſity of nations of which it was compoſed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a ſavage valour with diſcipline, and to blend the wiſe authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a conſiderable change in the affairs of the Jewiſh nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts againſt the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preſervation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to ſecure the one and the other. In a general aſſembly of the prieſts, the elders, and the whole people at Jeruſalem, Simon was choſen general, to whoſe family they had moſt eſſential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of ſovereign, as well as that of high-prieſt: they declared this double power, civil and ſacerdotal, hereditary in his family. Theſe two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his perſon. After his death, both dignities deſcended jointly to his poſterity, and continued united for many generations.

When [h] queen Cleopatra ſaw her huſband taken and kept priſoner by the Parthians, ſhe ſhut herſelf up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's ſoldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had induſtriouſly concealed thoſe defects under appearances of lenity and goodneſs, as long as he believed it neceſſary to pleaſe the people for the ſucceſs of his ambitious deſigns. When he ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the crown, he quitted an aſſumed character that laid him under too much conſtraint, and gave himſelf up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconſiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Thoſe deſertions did not however ſufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to ſupport

[h] A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

ſupport herſelf. She was alſo afraid, leſt the people of Seleucia ſhould chooſe rather to give her up to Tryphon, than ſupport a ſiege out of affection for her perſon. She therefore ſent propoſals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promiſed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when ſhe was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, ſhe was ſo much enraged, that ſhe obſerved no meaſures any further, and reſolved to ſeek her ſupport in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to ſupport the weight of a precarious crown, and ſhe was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him for her huſband.

This Antiochus was the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, and had been ſent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to ſecure them againſt the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been ſaid before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he aſſumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, [i] wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjuſt uſurpation, of whom he promiſed a ſpeedy vengeance. To engage him in his intereſts, he made him great conceſſions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he ſhould aſcend the throne.

[k] Accordingly the beginning of the following year he made a deſcent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; and after having eſpouſed Cleopatra, and joined what troops ſhe had with his own, he took the field, and marched againſt Tryphon. The greateſt part of that uſurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe.

[i] Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. & 13. [k] A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

Tryphon could not make head againſt him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus beſieged him there by ſea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long againſt ſo powerful an army. Tryphon eſcaped by ſea to Orthoſia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamæa, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the uſurpation, and aſcended his father's throne, which he poſſeſſed nine years. His paſſion for hunting occaſioned his being called "Sidetes or the hunter," from the word "Zidah," which has the ſame ſignification in the Syriac language.

Simon, eſtabliſhed in the government of Judæa by the general conſent of the nation, thought it neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they deſired. The ſenate, in conſequence, cauſed the conſul Piſo to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the ſtates of Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies and in conſequence they ſhould not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon ſo advantageous an alliance from the neceſſity of his preſent circumſtances, and contrary to the intereſts of the ſtate, as well as to the policy of his predeceſſors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring againſt Simon, notwithſtanding all the magnificent promiſes he had made him, and from ſending troops into Judæa, under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the ſons of Simon.

Phyſcon had reigned ſeven years in Egypt [1]. Hiſtory relates

1 A.M. 3866. Ant. J.C. 138. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. & l. vi. p. 252. V. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

* This letter was addreſſed to Demetrius, though priſoner amongſt the Parthians, becauſe the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monſtrous vices and deteſtable cruelties. Never was there a prince ſo abandoned to debauch, and at the ſame time ſo cruel and bloody. All the reſt of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both ſaid and acted in public the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himſelf both the contempt and abhorrence of his ſubjects. Without Hierax, his firſt miniſter, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the ſame to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the ſervice of Ptolemy Phyſcon, and ſoon became his captain general, and prime miniſter. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by cauſing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his maſter committed, by a wiſe and equitable government, and by preventing or redreſſing them as much as poſſible, he had been till then ſo fortunate as to ſupport the tranquillity of the ſtate.

[m] But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that Miniſter were no longer capable of reſtraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worſe than ever. Phyſcon, without any reaſon, cauſed the greateſt part of thoſe to be put to death, who had expreſſed the moſt zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He alſo put to death, or at leaſt baniſhed, moſt of thoſe who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at diſcretion, he terrified Alexandria ſo much, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it neceſſary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almoſt a deſart. To ſupply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houſes, he cauſed proclamation

[m] A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

tion to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whoſoever would come and ſettle there, of whatſoever nation they were, ſhould meet with the greateſt encouragements and advantages. There were conſiderable numbers whom this propoſal ſuited very well. The houſes that had been abandoned, were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongſt thoſe who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philoſophers, geometricians, phyſicians, muſicians, and other maſters in the liberal ſciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and ſciences began to revive in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; in a word, in every place to which theſe illuſtrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the ſucceſſors of Alexander, had almoſt extinguiſhed the ſciences in all thoſe countries, and they would have been entirely loſt in thoſe times of confuſion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The firſt of thoſe princes, by founding his Muſæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almoſt all the learned men of Greece. The ſecond and third, following the founder's ſteps in that reſpect, Alexandria became the city of the world where the liberal arts and ſciences were moſt cultivated, whilſt they were almoſt abſolutely neglected every where elſe. Moſt of the inhabitants of that great city ſtudied, or profeſſed ſome or other of thoſe politeans, in which they had been inſtructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppreſſion of the tyrant, of whom I ſpeak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their moſt general recourſe for ſubſiſtence was to make it their buſineſs to teach what they knew. They opened ſchools in thoſe countries for that purpoſe, and as they were preſſed by neceſſity, they taught at a low price, which very much increaſed the number of their diſciples. By this means the arts and ſciences began to revive, where-ever they were diſperſed; that is to ſay,

throughout what we call the whole Eaſt, exactly in the ſame manner as they took new birth in the Weſt, after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that ſtrangers came in crowds to [n] re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the Younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambaſſadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to ſend frequent embaſſies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greateſt perſons in the ſtate were ſent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Aſia, and Greece; and to ſee in what condition the affairs of thoſe countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were obſerved; and to remedy whatever they ſhould find amiſs. They diſcharged themſelves of this commiſſion with ſo much equity, juſtice, and addreſs, and rendered ſuch great ſervices to thoſe to whom they were ſent, in reſtoring order amongſt them, and in accommodating their differences, that as ſoon as they returned to Rome, ambaſſadors came from all parts where they had paſſed, to return the ſenate thanks for having ſent perſons of ſuch extraordinary merit amongſt them, and whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs they could never ſufficiently admire.

The firſt place they went to, according to their inſtructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themſelves, they affected ſtate ſo little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greateſt perſonage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Paneſius the philoſopher, and five domeſticks*. Not his domeſtics, ſays an hiſtorian, but his victories were conſidered: He was not eſteemed for his gold or his ſilver, but for his perſonal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole reſidence at Alexandria,

[n] Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, & l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

* *Cum per ſocios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia ſed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argenti, ſed quantum amplitudinis eius ſecum ferret, æſtimabatur.* Val. Max.

andria, the king cauſed them to be ſerved with whatever was moſt delicate and exquiſite, they never touched any thing but the moſt ſimple and common meats; deſpiſing all the reſt, as ſerving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp ſoon aſſumed their place.

When the ambaſſadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs, which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to viſit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They ſaw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themſelves, of the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the ſtrength of its natural ſituation; the fertility of its ſoil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Phyſcon, who then reigned, was nothing leſs than a king. Nothing was ſo wretched as the idea he gave them of himſelf in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and ſhall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the ſequel. The deformity of his * body ſufficiently correſponded with that of his mind; Nothing was ever worſe put together. His ſtature was of the ſmalleſt, and with that he had a belly of ſo enormous a ſize, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeneſs of his belly occaſioned his being called by the nickname of "Phyſcon." Upon this wretched perſon he wore ſo tranſparent a ſtuff, that all his deformity might be ſeen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to

* *Quam crŭentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & ſtatura brevis & ſagina ventris non homini ſed belluæ ſimilis. Quam fœditatem nimia ſubtilitas perlucidæ veſtis augebat, prorſus quaſi aſtu inſpicienda præberentur, quæ omni ſtudio occultanda pudibundo viro erant.* JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus ſays, πεζος ει μηδεποτε πεζος ει μηδια Σκιπιωνα. Which the interpreter tranſlates, *Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, ſed perpetuo Scipione ſubnixus;* inſtead of *niſi propter Scipionem.*

to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling, "The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are that deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

Attalus, king of Pergamus, died ° about the times of which we now speak. His nephew of the same name, called also Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with

° A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and eat no longer in publick. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sow all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seised with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

[p] He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in

[p] A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

in these terms, [q] LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES. As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect: That all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

[r] Aristonicus however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtezan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

[s] As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia,

[q] Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. & xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. [r] A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132. [s] A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

[t] Notwithſtanding ſuch powerful ſupports, having engaged in a battle with diſadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconſul, was defeated and himſelf made priſoner. He avoided the ſhame of being put into the victor's hands, by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Ariſtonicus, who cauſed his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The conſul Perpenna, who had ſucceeded Craſſus, ſoon revenged his death. Having made all haſte into Aſia, he gave Ariſtonicus battle, entirely routed his army, beſieged him ſoon after in Stratonice, and at length made him priſoner. All Phrygia ſubmitted to the Romans.

[u] He ſent Ariſtonicus to Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treaſures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected conſul, was haſtening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Ariſtonicus ſet out; and ſome time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a diſeaſe at Pergamus. Aquilius ſoon terminated this war, which had continued almoſt four years. Lydia, Caria, the Helleſpont, Phrygia, in a word all that compoſed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Aſia.

The ſenate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared againſt the Romans, as well in this laſt war, as in that againſt Antiochus, ſhould be deſtroyed. The inhabitants of Marſeilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in queſtion, ſent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the ſenate and people in their favour. As juſt as their indignation was againſt Phocæa, they could not refuſe that favour to the ardent ſolicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the higheſt conſideration, and who rendered themſelves ſtill more worthy of it, by

[t] A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. [u] A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

by the tender concern and gratitude they expreſſed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they diſpoſſeſſed his ſon, the Great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left ſix children. Rome, to reward in the ſons the ſervices of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderneſs of a parent, but the cruelty of a ſtep-mother. To ſecure all authority to herſelf, ſhe poiſoned five of her children, and the ſixth would have had the ſame fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara, whoſe crimes the people ſoon revenged by a violent death.

[x] Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Ariſtonicus, after having been ſhown there for a ſight to the people, was carried to priſon where he was ſtrangled. Such were the conſequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arſaces, king of Parthia, accuſes the Romans of having [*] forged a falſe will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Ariſtonicus, the ſon of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more ſurpriſing that Horace in one of his odes ſeems to make the Roman people the ſame reproach, and to inſinuate, that they attained the ſucceſſion by fraud:

[y] Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I ſeiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However,

x A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126. y Hor. Od. xviii. l. 2.

[*] *Similato impio teſtamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Ariſtonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hoſtium more per triumphum duxere.* Apud. Sallust. in Fragm.

However, there remains no trace in hiſtory of any ſecret intrigue or ſolicitation to that effect on the ſide of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the conſequences of this will without interruption. I ſhall now reſume the thread of my hiſtory.

SECT. V. *Antiochus Sidetes beſieges John Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem. That city ſurrenders by capitulation. He makes war againſt the Parthians, and periſhes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Phyſcon commits moſt horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his firſt wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is ſoon reduced to leave Egypt. Phyſcon returns thither, and re-aſcends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is ſoon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. Antiochus Grypus aſcends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Phyſcon's death.*

SIMON having been ſlain [a] by treaſon, with two of his ſons, John, another of them, ſurnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-prieſt and prince of the Jews in his father's ſtead. Here ends the hiſtory of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all poſſible haſte to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Jeruſalem, where he ſuſtained a long ſiege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, he cauſed propoſals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Thoſe who were about the king's perſon preſſed him to take the advantage of the preſent occaſion for exterminating

a A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. i. p. 901.

nating the Jewiſh nation. They repreſented to him, recurring to paſt ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the reſt of mankind, as they had no communication with any but thoſe of their own ſect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the ſame gods; that they had laws, cuſtoms, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deſerved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Joſephus, ſays, that it was from the pure effect of the generoſity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewiſh nation was not entirely deſtroyed on this occaſion.

He was well pleaſed to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the beſieged ſhould ſurrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jeruſalem ſhould be demoliſhed; and that a tribute ſhould be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: the peace was concluded upon theſe conditions. Antiochus alſo demanded, that the citadel of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt, and would have put a garriſon into it; but Hyrcanus would not conſent to that, upon account of the miſeries the nation had ſuffered in the garriſon of the former citadel, and choſe rather to pay the king the ſum of [b] five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and becauſe it could not be immediately ratified, hoſtages were given, amongſt whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going [c] to command in Spain, during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes ſent him rich and magnificent preſents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own uſe. Scipio received them in public, ſitting upon his tribunal in

[b] Five hundred thouſand crowns. [c] A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they ſhould be delivered to the * quæſtor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and ſoldiers who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice. By ſuch conduct a generous and noble ſoul is known.

Demetrius Nicator [d] had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all elſe is miſery. He had made ſeveral attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without ſucceſs. He was twice retaken in the midſt of his flight, and puniſhed only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the ſame magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodneſs and clemency in the Parthians; intereſt had ſome ſhare in it. They had views of making themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-eſtabliſh Demetrius upon the throne, they might take poſſeſſion of it for themſelves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this deſign or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched againſt Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthian's late uſurpation of the richeſt and fineſt provinces of the Eaſt, which his anceſtors had always poſſeſſed from the time of Alexander, was a ſtrong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulſion. His army was upwards of fourſcore thouſand men, well armed and diſciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it ſo great a multitude of ſutlers, cooks, paſtry-cooks, confectioners, actors, muſicians, and infamous women, that they were almoſt four times as many as the ſoldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thouſand. There may be ſome exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds

[d] A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. & 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oroſ. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. & l. x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xxi. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

* The quæſtor was the treaſurer of the army.

thirds were deducted, there would ſtill remain a numerous train of uſeleſs mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of thoſe that adminiſtered to it. * Gold and ſilver glittered univerſally, even upon the legs of the private ſoldiers. The inſtruments and utenſils of the kitchen were ſilver, as if they had been marching to a feaſt, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great ſucceſs at firſt. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the Eaſt, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and ſubmitted to him, except Parthia itſelf, where Phraates found himſelf reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his ſhare in all theſe victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The reſt of the army paſſed the winter in the Eaſt. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to ſeparate, and remove ſo far from each other, that they could not eaſily rejoin and form a body, in caſe of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they inſulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troubleſome gueſts that nothing could ſatisfy, conſpired with the Parthians to maſſacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to aſſemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him, but was overpowered by numbers, and periſhed himſelf. All the reſt of the army were either maſſacred in their quarters the ſame day, or made priſoners; ſo that out of ſo great a multitude, ſcarce any eſcaped to carry the ſad news of this ſlaughter into Syria.

It

* *Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea inſtrumenta fuere quaſi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent.* JUSTIN.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch [e] relates a saying of his very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus

[e] A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 184.

Antiochus being dead [f] Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and diviſions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himſelf maſter of many Places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiouſly for him. He laboured alſo at the ſame time to render himſelf abſolute and independent. He ſucceeded ſo well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himſelf nor any of his deſcendants depended in the leaſt upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of ſubjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates [g], flushed with his great ſucceſſes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invaſion of his dominions. But, whilſt he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of diſquieting others abroad. Finding himſelf vigorouſly purſued by Antiochus, as we have ſeen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no further occaſion for them, he would not give them the ſums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms againſt himſelf, to avenge themſelves for the injuſtice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have diſguſted ſo powerful a nation by a mean and ſordid avarice, and he committed a ſecond, no leſs conſiderable, in the war itſelf. To ſtrengthen himſelf againſt that nation, he ſought aid from a people to whom he had made himſelf more hateful than to the Scythians themſelves; theſe were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the laſt war againſt him, and had been made priſoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he ſhould conſiderably re-inforce them by that means. But when they ſaw themſelves with

[f] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1. & l. xlii. c. 1, & 2.

arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions [h] in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the places of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made

[h] A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 374—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

[i] But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

[i] A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

Ptolemy Phyſcon having raiſed an army on his ſide, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and ſent him againſt the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marſyas priſoner, and ſent him laden with chains to Phyſcon; it was expected that ſo bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the moſt exquiſite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and ſet him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himſelf honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loſs of her army, which was almoſt entirely cut to pieces in the purſuit, ſent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldeſt daughter by Philometor, and promiſed him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without heſitation, accepted that propoſal, marched with all his troops, and laid ſiege to Peluſium.

That prince was no leſs hated by the Syrians for his haughtineſs, tyranny, and exceſſes, than Phyſcon by the Egyptians. When they ſaw him at a diſtance and employed in the ſiege of Peluſium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them thoſe of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own ſubjects to obedience. Cleopatra, deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected from him, embarked with all her treaſures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been firſt married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the lifetime of her father Philometor. But Demetrius, having been taken priſoner by the Parthians, and detained amongſt them, ſhe had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, ſhe returned to Demetrius her firſt huſband, who being ſet at liberty by the Parthians, had repoſſeſſed himſelf of Syria: ſhe kept her court at Ptolemais where her mother came to her.

Phyſcon,

[k] Phyſcon, as ſoon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-aſſumed the government. For after the defeat of Marſyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppoſe him. After having employed ſome time in ſtrengthening himſelf, to revenge the invaſion of Demetrius, he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the ſon of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himſelf out for the ſon of Alexander Bala, and pretented, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Phyſcon lent him an army to put him in poſſeſſion of it. He was no ſooner in Syria, than without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the perſon who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damaſcus in Cœloſyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongſt the Parthians, took this occaſion to be revenged, and cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut againſt him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of diſpute and emulation between the princes and princeſſes, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves moſt by wickedneſs and the blackeſt crimes. Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reſerved to herſelf part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the reſt; and, to eſtabliſh himſelf the better, made a ſtrict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able ſtateſman, took the advantage of theſe diviſions to ſtrengthen himſelf, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other conſiderable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had ſent the preceding year an [l] embaſſy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The ſenate received thoſe ambaſſadors very graciouſly, and granted

[k] A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127. [l] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

granted them all they demanded. And becauſe Antiochus Sidetes had made war againſt the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken ſeveral cities, had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and ſome other places of which he had made ceſſion to them, and had made them conſent by force to a diſadvantageous peace, by beſieging the city of Jeruſalem; upon what the ambaſſadors repreſented to the ſenate on theſe heads, they condemned all that had been done in ſuch manner againſt the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and reſolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the reſt of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, ſhould be reſtored to them and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other ſubjection. It was alſo concluded that the Syrians ſhould make amends for all loſſes that the Jews had ſuſtained from them in contravention to the ſenate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria ſhould renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we ſpeak of [m] incredible ſwarms of graſhoppers laid Africa waſte in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the ſea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the ſhore, where they rotted, and infected the air to ſuch a degree, that they occaſioned a peſtilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and ſome other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thouſand ſouls.

We have ſaid, that Cleopatra [n] had poſſeſſed herſelf of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her huſband. He left two ſons by that princeſs, the eldeſt of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of aſcending the throne of his father, and accordingly cauſed himſelf to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for

[m] A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oroſ. l. v. c. 11.
[n] A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to eſtabliſh himſelf to her prejudice. She had alſo reaſon to fear that he might deſire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known ſhe had been the cauſe. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breaſt. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother could be capable of committing ſo horrid and exceſſive a crime: but when ſome unjuſt paſſion takes poſſeſſion of the heart, it becomes the ſource of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itſelf with poniards, and from having recourſe to poiſon; becauſe urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to deſtroy every thing which oppoſes that view.

Zebina had made himſelf maſter of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted againſt him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea and reſolved to defend that place againſt him. But he found means to reconcile them. They ſubmitted, and he pardoned them with the moſt uncommon clemency and greatneſs of ſoul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the moſt affable and engaging manner, ſo that he acquired the love of all men, and even of thoſe who abhorred the impoſture by which he had uſurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſervants. His ſon who ſucceeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who diſputed ſo long the empire of Aſia with the Romans, and ſupported a war of almoſt thirty years' duration againſt them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I ſhall make his hiſtory a ſeparate article.

[o] Cleopatra, after having killed her eldeſt ſon, believed it for her intereſt to make a titular king, under whoſe name ſhe might conceal the authority ſhe intended to retain entirely to herſelf. She rightly diſtinguiſhed, that a warlike people, accuſtomed to be governed by kings,

[o] A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123.

kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilſt filled only by a princeſs, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that ſhould ſet up for it. She therefore cauſed her other ſon Antiochus to return from Athens, whither ſhe had ſent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as ſoon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no ſhare in the affairs of government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he ſuffered her to govern for ſome time with patience enough. To diſtinguiſh him from the other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the ſurname of *Grypus*, taken from his great noſe. Joſephus calls him *Philometor;* but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

[p] Zebina having well eſtabliſhed himſelf after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the poſſeſſion of part of the Syrian empire, Phyſcon, who looked upon him as his creature, inſiſted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refuſed in direct terms to comply with that demand. Phyſeon reſolved to throw him down as he had ſet him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he ſent a conſiderable army to the aſſiſtance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a deſign of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being diſcovered, the inhabitants roſe, and drove him out of the city. He wandered ſome time about the country from place to place, but was taken at laſt and put to death.

[q] After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus believing himſelf of ſufficient years, reſolved to take the government upon himſelf. The ambitious Cleopatra, who ſaw her power diminiſhed, and grandeur eclipſed by that means, could not ſuffer it. To render herſelf

[p] A. M. 3882. J. C. 122. [q] A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

* γρυπὸς in Greek ſignifies a man with an aquiline noſe.

herſelf abſolute miſtreſs of the government of Syria again, ſhe reſolved to rid herſelf of Grypus, as ſhe had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her ſons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, ſhe was in hopes of poſſeſſing the royal authority for many years, and of taking ſuch meaſures as might eſtabliſh her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poiſoned draught for that purpoſe, which ſhe preſented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from ſome exerciſe. But that prince having been appriſed of her deſign, deſired her firſt, by way of reſpect, to drink the cup herſelf, and upon her obſtinate refuſal to do it, having called in ſome witneſſes, he gave her to underſtand, that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf of the ſuſpicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor ſhe had preſented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herſelf without evaſion or reſource, ſwallowed the draught. The poiſon had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monſter, who by her unheard-of crimes, had been ſo long the ſcourge of the ſtate. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occaſion the death of two of her huſbands, and as to her children, ſhe had murdered one with her own hands, and would have deſtroyed Grypus by the poiſon he made her drink herſelf. That prince afterwards applied himſelf with ſucceſs to the affairs of the public, and reigned ſeveral years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, occaſioned the troubles we ſhall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Phyſcon, king of Egypt, [r] after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of her brother Philometor, died at laſt in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

[r] A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her huſbands were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four ſons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

SECT. VI. *Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. Aristobulus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Jannæus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander his youngest brother on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians choose Tygranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.*

PHYSCON [s] at his death left three sons. The first named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander.

He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whether she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his youngest sister, for whom he had no inclination.

[s] A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 385.

inclination. Diſpoſitions of this kind promiſe no very pacific reign.

[t] At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of hiſtorians diſtinguiſh him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's ſide. He was the ſon of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilſt Demetrius was priſoner amongſt the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his ſafety, had ſent him to Cyzicum, a city ſituate upon the Propontis, in Myſia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom ſhe had entruſted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poiſoned. His deſign was diſcovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretenſions to the crown of Syria.

[u] Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herſelf at her own diſpoſal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an † army for her dowry, to aſſiſt him againſt his competitor. Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her

[t] A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114. [u] A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

* Αθυρος ſignifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*, from which came the ſurname of Cicero. Lathyrus muſt have had ſome very viſible mark of this ſort upon his face, or the name had been inconſiſtent.

† We find in the latter editions of Juſtin the following words; *exercitum Grypi ſollictatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit*; which ſhows, that Cleopatra having ſucceeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her huſband. Several editions read *Cypri* inſtead of *Grypi*, which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

her ſecurity in that place, and went himſelf to raiſe new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid ſiege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earneſt with him to put Cleopatra his priſoner into her hands. Though her ſiſter by father and mother, ſhe was ſo exceſſively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army againſt them, that ſhe reſolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a ſanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaiſance for his wife, which he ſaw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the ſanctity of the aſylum where her ſiſter had taken refuge; and repreſented, that her death would neither be of uſe to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his anceſtors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exerciſed againſt the women, eſpecially ſo near relations. That Cleopatra was her ſiſter, and his near * relation. That therefore he deſired her to ſpeak no more of her to him, becauſe he could by no means conſent to her being treated with any ſeverities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reaſon, became more violent by conceiving jealouſy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compaſſion, but love, that her huſband took the part of that unfortunate princeſs in ſuch a manner, ſhe therefore ſent ſoldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the alter, than by cutting off her hands with which ſhe embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thouſand curſes againſt the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whoſe ſight ſo barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two ſiſters, did not ſeem to be affected at all, with either

* Her father Phyſcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

† *Sed quanto Grypus abnuit tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non miſericordiæ hæc verba, ſed amoris eſſe.* JUSTIN.

either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was ſolely ſuſceptible of ambition, was ſo taken up with the deſire of reigning, that ſhe had no other thoughts than of the means of ſupporting herſelf in Egypt, and of retaining an abſolute authority in her own hands during her life. To ſtrengthen herſelf the better, ſhe gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon, in order to draw from him the aſſiſtance ſhe might have occaſion for, in caſe Lathyrus ſhould ever diſpute the authority ſhe was determined to keep.

[x] The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpuniſhed. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a ſecond time, defeated him and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her ſiſter had well deſerved.

[y] Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aſpendus in Pamphylia, which occaſioned his being ſometimes called in hiſtory the Aſpendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and re-poſſeſſed himſelf of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, and took up his reſidence at Damaſcus. Grypus had all the reſt, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other exceſſes.

Whilſt the two brothers [z] were exhauſting their forces againſt one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious ſloth and eaſe, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and ſeeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He ſent Ariſtobulus and Antigonus, two of his ſons, to form the ſiege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damaſcus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle enſued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and purſued as far as Scythopolis, eſcaping with great difficulty.

The

x A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112. y A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.
z A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19.

[a] The two brothers after this victory returned to the siege, and pressed the siege so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus; and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria,

[a] A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

Samaria, deſtitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having ſuſtained a ſiege for a year, to ſurrender at laſt to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. The walls of the city, and the houſes of the inhabitants, were entirely raſed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he cauſed large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had ſtood into which water was turned. It was not re-eſtabliſhed till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, he cauſed to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebaſtos,[b] in honour of Auguſtus.

Hyrcanus ſaw himſelf at that time maſter of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the moſt conſiderable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dare to attack him any more, and he paſſed the reſt of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

[c] But towards the cloſe of his life he did not find the ſame repoſe at home. The Phariſees, a violent and rebellious ſect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profeſſion of an attachment to the law, and a ſeverity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great ſway amongſt the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all ſorts of favours, to engage them in his intereſts. Beſides having been educated amongſt them, and having always profeſſed their ſect, he had protected and ſerved them upon all occaſions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a ſpeech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He repreſented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be juſt in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Phariſees: that he conjured them therefore, if they ſaw that he departed in any thing from the great end he propoſed to himſelf in thoſe two

[b] Σεβαστος, in Greek ſignifies Auguſtus.

[c] A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105.

two rules, that they would give him their inſtructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a diſpoſition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and diſcernment.

The whole aſſembly applauded this diſcourſe, and highly praiſed him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, roſe up, and ſpoke to him to this effect: "Since you deſire that the truth "ſhould be told you with freedom, if you would prove "yourſelf juſt, renounce the high-prieſthood, and content "yourſelf with the civil government." Hyrcanus was ſurpriſed, and aſked what reaſons he had to give him ſuch counſel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the teſtimony of ancient perſons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that, as the ſon of a ſtranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar [d] would have had reaſon; for the law was expreſs in that point: but it was a falſe ſuppoſition, and a mere calumny; and all who were preſent extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expreſſed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occaſioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incenſed at ſo inſolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in queſtion the purity of his birth, and, in conſequence, his right to the high-prieſthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incenſe him againſt the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful ſects in Judæa, but directly oppoſite to each other in ſentiments and intereſts, entirely divided the ſtate; that of the Phariſees, and that of the Sadducees. The firſt piqued themſelves upon an exact obſervance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their anceſtors, and to which they much more ſtrictly adhered than to the law itſelf, though often contrary to each other.

[d] Lev. xxiv. 15.

other. They acknowledged the immortality of the ſoul, and, in conſequence, another life after this. They affected an outſide of virtue, regularity, and auſterity, which acquired them great conſideration with the people. But under that impoſitious appearance they concealed the greateſt vices: ſordid avarice; inſupportable pride; an inſatiable thirſt of honours and diſtinctions; a violent deſire of ruling alone; an envy, that roſe almoſt to fury, againſt all merit but their own; an irreconcileable hatred for all who preſumed to contradict them; a ſpirit of revenge capable of the moſt horrid exceſſes; and what was ſtill their more diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, and outdid all the reſt, a black hypocriſy, which always wore the maſk of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Phariſaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and moſt of thoſe who compoſed the Sanhedrim, that is to ſay, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of ſtate and religion were determined, were of the latter ſect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, inſinuated to him, that what had paſſed was not the mere ſuggeſtion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to conſult them upon the puniſhment which the calumniator deſerved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and conſulted the principal of the Phariſees upon the puniſhment due to him, who had ſo groſsly defamed the prince and high-prieſt of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their anſwer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the puniſhment he deſerved, was to be ſcourged and impriſoned. So much lenity in ſo heinous a caſe, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had inſinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of

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the whole ſect of the Phariſees. He prohibited, by decree, the obſervation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon ſuch as diſobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himſelf into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

[e] Hyrcanus did not long ſurvive this ſtorm: he died the year following, after having been high-prieſt and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the hiſtory of other kingdoms, I ſhall reſerve the greateſt part of what regards the ſucceſſors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I ſhall treat the hiſtory of the Jews ſeparately.

We have ſeen that Ptolemy Lathyrus [f] had ſent an army into Paleſtine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithſtanding her oppoſition. She carried her reſentment ſo high upon this attempt, and ſome others of a like nature, againſt her authority, that ſhe took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two ſons*, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have ſome of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an aſſembly of the people at Alexandria. She cauſed it to be reported, that he had uſed them ſo barbarouſly for having endeavoured to defend her againſt his violence, and enflamed the people ſo much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he deſigned to kill her, that they immediately roſe univerſally againſt Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not eſcaped from the port in a ſhip, which ſet ſail as ſoon as he had got on board. Cleopatra ſent ſoon after for Alexander her youngeſt ſon, to whom ſhe had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's ſtead, whom ſhe obliged to content himſelf with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, [g] king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched againſt

[e] A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107. [f] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.
[g] A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

* Thoſe two ſons died before him.

againſt the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, where he beſieged them. They ſent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in perſon. But the beſieged changing their ſentiments, from the apprehenſion of having him for their maſter, Lathyrus diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was appriſed that the latter was negociating ſecretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces in order to drive him out of Paleſtine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and reſolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them under the command of one of his generals, to form the ſiege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied; and with the other marched in perſon againſt Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had ſupplied Lathyrus with a conſiderable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander loſt thirty thouſand men, without including the priſoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A moſt cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occaſion. The ſame evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and cauſed them all to be put to the ſword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dreſſed, as if he intended to make his army ſup upon them. His deſign was to have it believed, that his troops eat human fleſh, to ſpread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe ſuch a barbarity poſſible, or that any man ſhould ever conceive ſo wild a thought? Joſephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waſte all the flat country. Without the ſuccours brought by Cleopatra

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the following year Alexander had been undone, for after so considerable a loss it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

[g] That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia [h]. She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. For their security in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length, set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia [i]. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till

[g] A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103. [h] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. & de Bel. Civil. p. 414. [i] A. M. 3902. J. C. 102.

till the arrival of thoſe ſhe had detached to re-inforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his deſign. He was reduced to return into Paleſtine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however puſhed the ſiege of Ptolemais with ſo much vigour, that ſhe at laſt took it. As ſoon as ſhe entered it, Alexander made her a viſit, and brought rich preſents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced moſt to his ſucceſs, was her hatred for her ſon Lathyrus; which was alone ſufficient to aſſure him of a good reception.

Some perſons of Cleopatra's court obſerved to her, that ſhe had now a fair opportunity of making herſelf miſtreſs of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by ſeiſing his perſon: they even preſſed her to take the advantage of it, which ſhe would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he repreſented to her, how baſe and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſts, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews diſperſed throughout the world. In fine, he ſo effectually uſed his reaſons and credit, which he employed to the utmoſt for the preſervation of his countryman and relation, that ſhe came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wiſe miniſter, who has courage enough to oppoſe their unjuſt undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jeruſalem, where he at length ſet another good army on foot, with which he paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara.

[k] Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual againſt Paleſtine, whilſt his mother ſupported it, abandoned that deſign, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her ſide, retired alſo into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being

[k] A.M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

Being [k] informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time, a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

[l] The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were

[k] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. [l] A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionyſius. They were all kings, in their turns, or at leaſt pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion, [m] ſon of Phyſcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without iſſue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, inſtead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which ſoon filled the whole country with tyrants; becauſe the moſt powerful perſons of each of thoſe ſmall ſtates were for making themſelves ſovereigns of them. Lucullus, in paſſing that way againſt Mithridates, remedied thoſe diſorders in ſome meaſure; but there was no other means of re-eſtabliſhing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian ſeiſed Antioch, [n] after the death of Grypus, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſpoſſeſs Grypus's children of the reſt of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in poſſeſſion of many other good cities, maintained himſelf againſt him, and found means to ſupport his right.

Tigranes, ſon of Tigranes king of Armenia, [o] who had been kept an hoſtage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was releaſed at his death, and ſet upon the throne, on condition that he ſhould reſign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he eſpouſed the part of Mithridates againſt the Romans. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenian [p], who ſaw that Seleucus ſtrengthened himſelf every day in Syria, ſet out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made priſoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole empire of Syria; but

[m] A. M. 3908. Ant. J.C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 5. [n] Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. [o] A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. [p] A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

but could not keep it long. Antiochus Euſebes, ſon of the Cyziçenian, who made his eſcape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, and went to Aradus *, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king. [q] From thence he marched with a conſiderable army againſt Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Mopſueſtia a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppreſſed the inhabitants ſo much by the impoſition of groſs ſubſidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, inveſted the houſe where he reſided, and ſet it on fire. Himſelf, and all who were in it, periſhed in the flames.

[r] Antiochus and Philip, the twin-ſons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raiſe againſt Mopſueſtia. They took and demoliſhed the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return, Euſebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to ſwim his horſe over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a conſiderable body of men, which ſoon increaſed to ſuch a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and diſpute the empire with Euſebes.

The latter, to ſtrengthen himſelf upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politic princeſs, upon the huſband's death, had found means to ſecure part of the empire in her own poſſeſſion, and had provided herſelf with good troops. Euſebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom ſhe had been taken, to avenge himſelf for that injury, ſent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth ſon of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damaſcus, Euſebes and Philip were too much employed againſt each other to prevent that blow. For though Euſebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip however, ſtill ſupported himſelf, and at laſt totally defeated

[q] A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93. [r] A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

* An iſland and city of Phœnicia.

feated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius. Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, re-possessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time: this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seised the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs [s] were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprised of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murthered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of

[s] A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable crimes, perfidy, impoſture of heirs, divorces, poiſoning, inceſt. Princes on a ſudden become monſters, diſputing treachery and wickedneſs with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and diſappearing as ſoon; reigning only to ſatiate their paſſions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a ſituation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the ſtate are in confuſion, all laws deſpiſed, juſtice aboliſhed, all crimes ſecure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and ſeems to call for it in the loudeſt manner.

As ſoon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had cauſed his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide ſo odious to his ſubjects that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he ſupported himſelf to his death. Alexander having got ſome ſhips together, endeavoured to return into Egygt the year following, but without ſucceſs. He periſhed ſoon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians [t] weary of the continual wars made in their couutry by the princes of the houſe of Seleucus for the ſovereignty, and not being able to ſuffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually expoſed, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and to ſubmit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils thoſe diviſions occaſioned, and reſtore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and ſent ambaſſadors to acquaint him with their reſolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together

[t] A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Juſtin. l. xl. c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

ther by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occaſion for him againſt the Romans.

Euſebes, being driven out of his dominions by his ſubjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he paſſed the reſt of his days in concealment and obſcurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in ſome action againſt Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Euſebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, and [u] reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education worthy of their birth. The eldeſt was called Antiochus Aſiaticus, and the youngeſt Seleucus Cybioſactes. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

Some time [x] after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a conſiderable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, ſhut themſelves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themſelves with incredible obſtinacy. It was at length taken after a ſiege of three years. Lathyrus uſed it with ſo much rigour, that from being the greateſt and richeſt city till then in Egypt, it was almoſt reduced to nothing.

[y] Lathyrus did not long ſurvive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-ſix years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and ſeven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, ſucceeded him, who was his only legitimate iſſue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of that houſe, all the ſons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla [z], at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, ſent Alexander to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the neareſt heir male of the defunct. He was the ſon of that Alexander who

 had

[u] Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xviii. p. 196. [x] Pauſan. in Attic. p. 15. [y] A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81. [z] Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already ſet Cleopatra upon the throne, and ſhe had been ſix months in poſſeſſion of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the maſter of Rome, and, in conſequence, diſpenſer of law to the univerſe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he ſhould marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no aſſociate in the throne, cauſed her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murther and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in thoſe times, and might be ſaid to have grown into faſhion among princes and princeſſes.

Some time [a] after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having firſt made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did alſo the ſame year. The Romans, inſtead of appropriating the latter to themſelves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had paſſed ſince, during which term, ſedition and tyranny had occaſioned infinite calamities. It is ſaid, that the Jews, who had been long ſettled there, and compoſed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to thoſe diſorders. The Romans, to put a ſtop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the laſt king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

a A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epiſt. l. lxx, & xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

SECT. VII. *Selena, ſiſter of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; ſhe ſends two of her ſons to Rome for that purpoſe. The eldeſt, called Antiochus, on his return goes to Sicily. Verres prætor of that iſland, takes from him a golden ſconce, deſigned for the Capitol. Antiochus, ſurnamed Aſiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and ſet Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his ſtead. Alexander, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In conſequence, ſome years after, they ordered Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be depoſed, confiſcate his fortunes, and ſeiſe that Iſland. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commiſſion.*

[b] SOME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occaſioned by the diſguſt taken againſt Alexander, made Selena, the ſiſter of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She ſent her two ſons, Antiochus Aſiaticus and Seleucus, whom ſhe had by Antiochus Euſebes, to Rome, to ſolicit the ſenate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which ſhe had always oppoſed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with thoſe of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a reſidence of two years in Rome and ineffectual ſolicitations, they ſet out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The

[b] A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

* *Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, ſcitis Romæ nuper fuiſſe: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id ſine controverſia obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant; ſed regnum Ægypti ad ſe & Selenam matrem ſuam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, poſtquam temporibus populi Romani excluſi, per ſenatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti ſunt.*

The eldeſt*, called Antiochus reſolved to paſs by the way of Sicily. He experienced an inſult there, which is hardly credible, and ſhows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we ſpeak of, to what exceſs the avarice of the magiſtrates, ſent into the provinces, roſe, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the ſight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time prætor in Sicily. As ſoon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuſe, as he had reaſon to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by ſending Antiochus preſents conſiderable enough, conſiſting in proviſions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to ſupper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables ſet off with all his veſſels of the moſt excellent workmanſhip, of which he had a great number. The feaſt was ſumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing ſhould be wanting to make it ſo. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and ſtill better ſatisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He ‡ invites Verres to ſupper in his turn; expoſes all his riches, multitudes of ſilver veſſels, and not few cups of

* *Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.*

† *Itaque iſto (Verre) prætore venit Syracuſas. Hic Verres hæreditatem ſibi veniſſe arbitratus eſt, quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem iſte & audierat multa ſecum præclara habere, & ſuſpicabatur. Mittit homini munera ſatis larga: hæc ad uſum domeſticum, vini, olei, quod viſum erat, etiam tritici quod ſatis eſſet. Deinde ipſum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat. ample magnifique triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, celurima ac pulcherrima, vaſa argentea.——Omnibus curat rebus inſtructum & parutum ut ſit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita diſceſſit, ut & iſtum copioſe ornatum, & ſe honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.*

‡ *Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipſe prætorem. Exponit ſuas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ ut mos eſt regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant diſtincta, clariſſimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi.—Iſte unumquodque vas in manus ſumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani ſatis jucundum & gratum illud eſſe convivium.*

of gold ſet with jewels, after the cuſtom of kings, and eſpecially thoſe of Syria. There was among the reſt a very large veſſel for wine, made out of one precious ſtone. Verres takes each of theſe veſſels into his hand one after the other, praiſes and admires them, the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment.

From * thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and ſend him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He ſent to deſire that he would let him have the fineſt of the veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhowing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or ſuſpicion. The prætor ſent again, to deſire that he would lend him the veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might conſider them more exactly, as he ſaid. The king ſent him that alſo.

But to crown all, † the kings of Syria, of whom we ſpeak, had carried a branch-ſconce with them to Rome, of ſingular beauty, as well from the precious ſtones with which it was adorned, as its exquiſite workmanſhip. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finiſhed, they would not leave it behind them, nor ſuffer any body to have a ſight of it; in order that when it ſhould

* *Poſtea quam inde diſceſſum eſt, cogitare. iſte nihil aliud, quod ipſa res declaravit, niſi quemadmodum regem ex provincia ſpoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vaſa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait ſe ſuis cælatoribus velle oſtendere. Rex, qui iſtum non noſſet, ſine ulla ſuſpicione libentiſſime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle ſe eam diligentius conſiderare. Ea quoque mittitur.*

† *Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite——Candelabrum è gemmis clariſſimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attuliſſent, ut in Capitolio ponerent: quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò oſtendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius, videretur, cum ſuo tempore in ſella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id ſecum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audiſſent ſimulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.*

ſhould appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the ſurpriſe might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new ſplendor to the preſent. They therefore choſe to carry it back into Syria, reſolving to ſend ambaſſadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongſt many others, to the god, when they ſhould know that his ſtatue was ſet up in the temple.

* Verres was informed of all this by ſome means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the ſconce concealed; not that he feared or ſuſpected any thing, but that few people might ſee it before expoſed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earneſtly begged him to ſend it him, expreſſing a great deſire to examine it, and promiſing to let nobody elſe ſee it. The young prince, with the candor and ſimplicity of whoſe youth the noble ſentiments of his birth were united, was far from ſuſpecting any bad deſign. He ordered his officers to carry the ſconce ſecretly to Verres, well covered from ſight; which was done accordingly. As ſoon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a preſent worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly ſplendid from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanſhip, in which art ſeemed to vie with the materials; and at the ſame time

* *Pervenit res ad iſtius aures neſcio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut ſuſpicaretur, ſed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iſte perit a rege, & cum plurimus verbis rogat, uti ad ſe mittat: cupere ſe dicit inſpicere, neque ſe aliis videndi poteſtatem eſſe facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili eſſet & regio, nihil de iſtius improbitate ſuſpicatus eſt. Imperat ſuis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultiſſime deferrent. Quò poſteaquàm attulerunt, involucriſque rejectis, conſtituerunt, iſte clamare cœpit, dignam rem eſſe regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo ſplendore, qui ex clariſſimis & plurimis gemmis eſſe debebat: ea varietate operum ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi poſſet, non ad hominum apparatum, ſed ad ampliſſimi templi ornamentum, eſſe factum. Quod cum ſatis jam perſpiciſſe videretur, tolere incipiunt ut referrent. Iſte ait ſe velle illud etiam atque etiam conſiderare: nequaquam ſe eſſe ſatiatum. Jubet illos diſcedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.*

time of so large a size that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion: One day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very sconce, which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly intreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his intreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had

* *Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini & hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrimè cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.*

received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The * king upon that withdrew to the public place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous aſſembly of the Syracuſans, calling the gods and men to witneſs, that Verres had taken from him a ſconce of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other veſſels of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to ſee that ſconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconſolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that ſconce was already conſecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, preſented, dedicated, and conſecrated it again to that god, in the preſence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witneſs to the ſentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

'Antiochus Aſiaticus, being returned into Aſia, ſoon after aſcended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the ſpace of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war againſt Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been ſo groſsly injured by the prætor himſelf, a gueſt

c A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

* *Rex maximo conventu Syracuſis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque conteſtans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium miſſurus eſſet, quod in templo clariſſimo, populo Rom. monumentum ſuæ ſ cietatis amicitiæque eſſe voluiſſet, id ſibi C. Verrem abſtuliſſe. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ ſua penes illum eſſent, ſe non laborare: hoc ſibi eripi miſerum eſſe & indignum. Id etſi antea jam, mente & cogitatione ſuæ fratriſque ſui, conſecratum eſſet: tamen tum ſe in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, conſecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. teſtemque ipſum Jovem ſuæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.*

a gueſt plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the higheſt indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almoſt all the magiſtrates ſent by Rome into the provinces; a crime which the ſenate and people ſeemed to approve, and of which they made themſelves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We * "have ſeen for ſeveral years (ſays the ſame Cicero, in "another of his Orations againſt Verres) and have ſuf- "fered in ſilence, the wealth of all nations to be trans- "ferred into the hands of a few private perſons. "Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, "in fine, all Aſia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now in- "cloſed in ſome of the country houſes of thoſe rich "and unjuſt men of rapine, whilſt money is univerſally "a prodigious rarity every where elſe. And we have "juſt reaſon to believe, that ourſelves connive in all "theſe crying and terrible diſorders, as thoſe who com- "mit, take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to "hide their thefts and depredations from the eyes and "knowledge of the public."

Such was Rome at the time we now ſpeak of, which ſoon occaſioned its ruin, and the loſs of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to conſider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a ſtate, to examine their cauſes and effects, to enter thus into men's moſt ſecret retirements, to uſe that expreſſion, to ſtudy cloſely the characters and diſpoſitions of thoſe who govern, is a much more important part of hiſtory, than that which only treats of ſieges, battles, and conqueſts: to which however we muſt return.

The

* *Patimur multos jam annos & ſilemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisſe. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo iſtorum diſſimulat, neque laborat, ut obſcura ſua cupiditas eſſe videatur.——Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum eſſe arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Aſiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis incluſas eſſe videatis.* Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl. n. 125, 126

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death [d] did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing [e] but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some [f] were

[d] A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. Justin. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 23, 24. & de Bell. Judaic. l. 4. & A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. [e] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251. [f] Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Egypt, and of the iſland of Cyprus, of which the teſtator had been ſovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the ſenators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken poſſeſſion of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been alſo given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all thoſe countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they alſo accepted Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus in virtue of a like donation, that the facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and expreſs too clearly a deſign formed to engroſs in the ſame manner all other ſtates. They believed beſides, that this enterpiſe might involve them in another war, which would embarraſs them very much, whilſt they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themſelves for the preſent with cauſing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the reſt of his eſtates. This proceeding ſufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the ſequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very ſingular cuſtom, and almoſt unheard-of in all other hiſtory, which undoubtedly does great honour to thoſe in whoſe favour it was eſtabliſhed. The uſual methods of extending the bounds of a ſtate, are war, victory, and conqueſt. But with what enormous injuſtice and violence are thoſe methods attended, and how much devaſtation and blood muſt it coſt to ſubject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are ſhed. It is a pacific and legitimate increaſe of power, the ſimple acceptance of voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another ſort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being ſo, but it is no leſs dangerous

dangerous on that account, I mean ſeduction: when to obtain the ſuffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, ſecret colluſions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the perſons of the higheſt credit and authority in ſtates and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a diſtance, and do not ſeem to have any ſhare. In this we now ſpeak of, there was no viſible trace of a policy ſo common with princes, and which, ſo far from making any ſcruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the firſt, if I am not miſtaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any ſtrict union with that republic, during the ſhort time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from uſing any arts to attain the ſucceſſion to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in ſome meaſure obliged to it againſt their will. It does not appear that they were more ſolicitous, either in public or private with Nicomedes king of Bythynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced theſe princes to act in this manner? Firſt, gratitude: the houſe of Attalus was indebted for all its ſplendor to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them againſt Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the deſire of procuring a laſting tranquillity, for them, and the idea they had of the wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children or lawful ſucceſſors; for baſtards were not looked upon as ſuch. They had only in view the future diviſions and civil wars that might ariſe about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria ſupplied them with dreadful examples. They ſaw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happineſs enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the ſituation of which we ſpeak, had but three things to chooſe; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to reſtore to

his jubjects their entire liberty, by inſtituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

This firſt choice undoubtedly expoſed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealouſies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his ſubjects induced him to ſpare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the ſecond choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whoſe genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a ſhare in the preſent queſtion, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates ſupply us with examples of the ſame kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wiſely than to leave his ſubjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and reſpected by the whole univerſe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjuſt, and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil diviſions, and bloody diſcords, did he ſpare them by this kind of teſtamentary diſpoſition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble diſintereſtedneſs, having refuſed the gift the king had made them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itſelf up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thouſand factions, furious to madneſs againſt each other, and, in a word, become like a ſhip without a pilot in the midſt of the moſt violent ſtorms, it ſuffered many years the moſt incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pay, and in ſome manner to force the Romans to vouchſafe to take the government of it upon themſelves.

Beſides this, a prince by ſuch conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageouſly for his people, what

what muſt have neceſſarily have happened ſooner or later. Was there any city or ſtate capable of making head againſt the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, eſpecially when the royal family was extinct, could ſupport itſelf, and its independence, long againſt them? There was an inevitable neceſſity for its falling into the hands of that people, and, for that reaſon it was highly conſiſtent with prudence to ſoften the yoke by a voluntary ſubjection, for they made a great difference between the people who ſubmitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and thoſe who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at laſt to a conqueror. We have ſeen with what ſeverity the Macedonians, at leaſt the principal perſons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; eſpecially during the firſt years of their ſubjection.

The other nations ſuffered nothing of that kind, and generally ſpeaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by thoſe who bore it. The ſubjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themſelves, was rather a means to aſſure the public tranquillity, than a ſervitude heavy upon private perſons, and prejudicial to ſociety. Moſt of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magiſtrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means ſecured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had ſo long and ſo cruelly diſtreſſed the republics of Greece in the times of their anceſtors. So that the Greeks ſeemed to be great gainers in ranſoming themſelves from theſe inconveniences, by ſome diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces ſometimes ſuffered very much from the avarice of governors. But thoſe were only tranſient evils which had no long effects, and to which the goodneſs and juſtice of a worthy ſucceſſor applied a ſpeedy redreſs, and which, after all, were not comparable to the diſorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and

and Lacedæmonians, againſt each other, were attended, and ſtill leſs to the violences and ravages, occaſioned by the inſatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and ſtates.

An evident proof of the wiſdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed againſt that diſpoſition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuſe the Romans entirely in this place, nor to juſtify their conduct in all things. I have ſufficiently obſerved the views of intereſt, and political motives of their actions. I only ſay, that the Roman Government, eſpecially with regard to thoſe who ſubmitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people and the ſource of their peace, and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppreſſors, who made the Roman people authoriſe the moſt flagrant injuſtice, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee an example: but there was always a conſiderable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who roſe up againſt thoſe violences, and declared loudly for juſtice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

[g] Clodius, who commanded a ſmall fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken priſoner by the pirates of that coaſt, againſt whom he had been ſent. He cauſed Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be deſired in his name to ſend him money to pay his ranſom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, ſent him only two talents. The pirates choſe rather to releaſe Clodius, without ranſom, than to take ſo ſmall a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as ſoon as poſſible. He had found means to get himſelf elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made uſe of it for the deſtruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince

[g] A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in conſequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to ſeiſe the kingdom of Cyprus, to depoſe Ptolemy, and to confiſcate all his effects. To put ſo unjuſt an order in execution, he had credit and addreſs enough to have the juſteſt of all the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commiſſion, that he might not find him an obſtacle to the violent and criminal deſigns he meditated. Cato was therefore ſent into the iſle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deſerved that affront, ſays an hiſtorian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices ſufficiently authoriſed the ſeiſing of all his fortunes.

Cato [i], upon his arrival at Rhodes, ſent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promiſed him, if he complied, to procure him the high-prieſthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were ſufficiently conſiderable for his honourable ſubſiſtence. Ptolemy rejected that propoſal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himſelf againſt the power of the Romans; but could not reſolve, after having worn a crown ſo long, to live as a private perſon. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treaſures, and put to ſea. His deſign was to have holes boared in the bottom of his ſhip, that it might ſink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpoſe, though he perſiſted conſtantly in the reſolution of dying himſelf, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treaſures in his ruin; and thereby

[i] Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* *P. Clodius in ſenatu ſub honorificentiſſimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Qui legem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in inſulam Cyprum, ad ſpoliandum regno Ptolemæum omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum.* VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 45.

thereby * ſhowed, that he loved them better than he did himſelf, by the title of king of Cyprus, but in fact, the mean ſlave of his money. He returned to ſhore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poiſoned himſelf, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried thoſe treaſures the following year to Rome. The ſum was ſo large, that in the greateſt triumphs the like had ſcarce been laid up in the public treaſury. Plutarch makes it amount to almoſt ſeven thouſand talents (one million and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.) Cato cauſed all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be ſold publicly; reſerving only to himſelf a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the ſentiments of which ſect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the maſk, and ſhew themſelves not ſuch as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches and eſteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and ſilver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of diſgracing and reproaching the Romans than this laſt action. "† The "Roman people (ſays Cicero) inſtead of making it their "honour, and almoſt a duty as formerly, to re-eſta-"bliſh the kings their enemies whom they had con-"quered, upon their thrones, now ſee a king, their ally, "or at leaſt a conſtant friend to the republic, who had never

* *Procul dubio hic non poſſedit divitias, ſed a divitiis poſſeſſus eſt; titulo rex inſulæ, animo pecuniæ miſerabile mancipium.*

† *Ptolemæus, rex, ſi nondum ſocius at non hoſtis, pacatus quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil ſuſpicante, eſt rogatum, ut ſedens cum purpura & ſceptro & illis inſignibus regiis, præconi publico ſubjiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere conſuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur——Cyprius miſer, qui ſemper ſocius, ſemper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam ſuſpicio durior aut ad ſenatum, aut ad imperatores noſtros allata eſt: vivus (ut aiunt) eſt & videns, cum victu & veſtitu ſuo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges ſtabilem eſſe ſuam fortunam arbitrentur cum hoc illius funeſti anni perdito exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem ſe fortunis ſpoliari (poſſe) & regno omni nudari.* Cic. Orat. pro Sextio. n. 57.

" never done them any wrong, of whom neither the ſe-
" nate nor any of our generals had ever the leaſt com-
" plaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his
" anceſtors in tranquillity, plundered on a ſudden
" without any formality, and all his effects ſold by
" auction almoſt before his eyes, by order of the ſame
" Roman people. This (continues Cicero) ſhows other
" kings, upon what they are to rely for their ſecurity;
" from this fatal example they learn, that amongſt us,
" there needs only the ſecret intrigue of ſome ſeditious
" tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and
" plundering them at the ſame time of all their for-
" tunes."

What I am moſt amazed at is, that Cato, the juſteſt and moſt upright man of thoſe times (but what was the moſt ſhining virtue and juſtice of the Pagans!) ſhould lend his name and ſervice in ſo notorious an injuſtice. Cicero, who had reaſons for ſparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, ſhows, however, in the ſame diſcourſe I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excuſing him, how much he had diſhonoured himſelf by that action.

During Cato's ſtay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reſerve for the following book the hiſtory of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

BOOK

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS, CONTINUED.

THE twentieth Book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: The firſt, of the hiſtory of the Jews, from the reign of Ariſtobulus to that of Herod the Great; the ſecond, of the hiſtory of the Parthians from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of Craſſus; the third, of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgement of the hiſtory of the Jews from Ariſtobulus, ſon of Hyrcanus, who firſt aſſumed the Rank of king, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan.

AS the hiſtory of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occaſion offered, to relate of it what was moſt neceſſary and ſuitable to my ſubject. I ſhall add here what remains of that hiſtory to the reign of Herod the Great. The hiſtorian Joſephus, who is in every one's hands, will ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch as are deſirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have uſed here, may be alſo conſulted to the ſame effect.

SECT.

SECT I. *Reign of Ariſtobulus the firſt, which laſted two years.*

[a]HYRCANUS, high-prieſt and prince of the Jews, had left five ſons at his death. The firſt was Ariſtobulus, the ſecond Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Abſalom.

Ariſtobulus, as the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father in the high-prieſthood and temporal ſovereignty. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well eſtabliſhed, he aſſumed the diadem and title of king, which none of thoſe who had governed Judæa from the Babyloniſh captivity had done beſides himſelf. The conjuncture ſeemed favourable for that deſign. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of oppoſing it were weak princes, involved in domeſtic troubles and civil wars, little ſecure upon the throne, and not maintaining themſelves long in the poſſeſſion of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authoriſe the diſmembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in compariſon with themſelves. Beſides, it was natural for Ariſtobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquiſitions made by his anceſtors, who had given an aſſured and uninterrupted eſtabliſhment to the Jewiſh nation, and enabled it to ſupport the dignity of a king amongſt its neighbours.

Ariſtobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Ariſtobulus was the ſtrongeſt, and put her in priſon, where he cauſed her to be ſtarved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldeſt of them, he gave him at firſt a ſhare in the government; but ſome ſmall time after, upon a falſe accuſation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a priſon during his life.

When

[a] A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joſeph. Ant. xiii. 19, &c. Id de bell. Jud. i. 3.

[b] When Ariſtobulus had fully poſſeſſed himſelf of the authority his father had enjoyed, he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having ſubjected the greateſt part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaiſm, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans ſome years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumciſed and profeſs the Jewiſh religion, or to quit their country and ſeek a ſettlement elſewhere. They choſe to ſtay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to ſpirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Aſmoneans. It ſhows, that they had not a juſt idea of religion at that time, which does not impoſe itſelf by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by perſuaſion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in queſtion, was a part of Cœloſyria, on the north-eaſt frontier of Iſrael, between the Inheritance of the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the other ſide of the Jordan, and the territory of Damaſcus.

A diſtemper obliged Ariſtobulus to return from Ituræa to Jeruſalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illneſs, to alienate the king againſt him by falſe reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus ſoon returned to Jeruſalem after the ſucceſſes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feaſt of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himſelf time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwiſe prejudiced againſt him, ſent him orders to diſarm himſelf, and come to him as ſoon as poſſible; conceiving, if he refuſed to obey, it was a proof ſo ſome bad deſign; and in that caſe he gave orders that he ſhould be killed. The perſon ſent by Ariſtobulus, was gained by the

[b] A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years.*

[c]SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person [d], he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngest of her sons reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good

[c] A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3. [b] Id. Antiq. xiv. 8.

a good army on foot, which paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himſelf maſter of that city, he took ſeveral other very ſtrong places, ſituated alſo on the other ſide of the Jordan. But not being ſufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and loſt ten thouſand men, with all the ſpoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jeruſalem in the higheſt affliction for this loſs, and the ſhame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to ſee, that many people, inſtead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Phariſees, they had always been the enemies of his houſe, and eſpecially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almoſt the whole people into their party, they had ſo ſtrongly prejudiced and enflamed them againſt him, that all the diſorders and commotions with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this ſource.

[h] This loſs, great as it was, did not prevent his going to ſeiſe Raphia and Anthedon, when he ſaw the coaſt of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus.

Thoſe two poſts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he propoſed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus againſt him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earneſtly ſought all occaſions to avenge himſelf upon them.

[i] As ſoon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to beſiege their city. Apollodorus the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. [k] His own brother Lyſimachus could not ſee his glory without envy; and that baſe paſſion induced him to aſſaſſinate the governor. That wretch afterwards aſſociated with ſome others as bad as himſelf, and ſurrendered the

[h] A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100. [i] A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98.
[k] A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to uſe his victory with clemency and moderation. But as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter of all the poſts, and that there was nothing to oppoſe him, he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to kill, plunder, and deſtroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exerciſed upon that unfortunate city. The pleaſure of revenge coſt him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themſelves like men in deſpair, and killed him almoſt as many of his people as they were themſelves. But at length he ſatiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jeruſalem. This war employed him a year.

[l] Some time after the people affronted him in the moſt heinous manner [m]. At the feaſt of the tabernacles, whilſt he was in the temple, offering a ſolemn ſacrifice, in quality of high-prieſt, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thouſand injurious names, and amongſt the reſt giving him that of "Slave;" a reproach which ſufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had preſumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. Theſe indignities enraged Alexander to ſuch a degree, that he attacked thoſe inſolent people in perſon, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of ſix thouſand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were diſaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to truſt his perſon any longer to them, and uſed foreign troops for his guard, whom he cauſed to come from Piſidia and Cilicia. Of theſe he formed a body of ſix thouſand men, that attended him every where.

[n] When Alexander ſaw the ſtorm which had roſe againſt him a little appeaſed by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms againſt the enemy

[l] A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.
[m] Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 21.
[n] A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.

my abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. [o] At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

[p] Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at three years' end, after having reigned twenty-seven [q].

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit succeed her.

[o] A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92. [p] A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.
[q] A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

SECT. III. *Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldeſt ſon is high-prieſt, during that time.*

[r] ACCORDING to the advice of her huſband, Alexandra ſubmitted herſelf and her children to the power of the Phariſees, declaring to them, that in doing ſo ſhe only conformed to the laſt will of her huſband.

By this ſtep ſhe gained ſo much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as poſſible, they changed it on a ſudden into a reſpect and veneration for his memory, and inſtead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented againſt him, nothing was heard but praiſes and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandiſed, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people ſo effectually, whom till then they had always irritated againſt him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predeceſſors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed ſovereign adminiſtratrix of the nation. We ſee from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Phariſees ſtood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, diſappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with thoſe who are fond of ruling.

When that princeſs ſaw herſelf well eſtabliſhed, ſhe cauſed her eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus to be received as high-prieſt: he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promiſe, ſhe gave the adminiſtration of all important affairs to the Phariſees. The firſt thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the laſt two kings, had aboliſhed all their traditional conſtitutions,

[r] A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24, & de bell. Jud. 1, 4.

ſtitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They perſecuted with great cruelty, all thoſe who had declared themſelves their enemies in the preceding reigns; without the queen's been able to prevent them; becauſe ſhe had tied up her own hands, by putting herſelf into thoſe of the Phariſees. She had ſeen in her huſband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of thoſe revengeful and inexorable men, ſhe believed it neceſſary to ſuffer a leſs, by way of precaution againſt a greater evil.

What we have ſaid upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right ſenſe of the ſtate of the Jewiſh nation, and of the characters of thoſe who governed it.

[s] The Phariſees always continued their perſecutions againſt thoſe who had oppoſed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accuſation to deſtroy thoſe who gave them moſt umbrage amongſt ſuch as ſtill ſurvived.

The friends and partiſans of the late king, ſeeing no end to theſe perſecutions, and that their deſtruction was ſworn, aſſembled at laſt, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Ariſtobulus, her ſecond ſon, at their head. They repreſented to her the ſervices they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at preſent, under her government, that every thing they had done for him ſhould be made criminal, and to ſee themſelves ſacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, ſolely for their adherence to herſelf and her family. They implored her either to put a ſtop to ſuch ſort of inquiries, or if that was not in her power to permit

[s] A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

mit them to retire out of the country, in order to their ſeeking an aſylum elſewhere: at leaſt they begged her to put them into garriſoned places, where they might find ſome ſecurity againſt the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was poſſible to be with the condition ſhe ſaw them in, and the injuſtice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all ſhe deſired; for ſhe had given herſelf maſters, by engaging to act in nothing without the conſent of the Phariſees. How dangerous is it to inveſt ſuch people with too much authority! They exclaimed that it would be putting a ſtop to the courſe of juſtice, to ſuſpend the inquiries after the culpable; that ſuch a proceeding was what no government ought to ſuffer, and that therefore they never would come into it. On the other ſide, the queen believed, that ſhe ought not to give her conſent, that the real and faithful friends of her family ſhould abandon their country in ſuch a manner; becauſe ſhe would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any ſupport, and would have no reſource in caſe of neceſſity. She reſolved therefore upon the third point they had propoſed to her, and diſperſed them into the places where ſhe had garriſons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the firſt was that their enemies dared not attack them in thoſe fortreſſes, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the ſecond, that they would always be a body of reſerve, upon which ſhe could rely upon occaſion in caſe of any rupture.

[1] Some years after, queen Alexandra fell ſick of a very dangerous diſtemper, which brought her to the point of death. As ſoon as Ariſtobulus, her youngeſt ſon, ſaw that ſhe could not recover, as he had long formed the deſign of ſeizing the crown at her death, he ſtole out of Jeruſalem in the night, with only one domeſtic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garriſon. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen

[1] A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

fifteen days' time twenty-two of thoſe towns and caſtles declared for him, which put him in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the forces of the ſtate. The people as well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel adminiſtration of the Phariſees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become inſupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all ſides to follow the ſtandards of Ariſtobulus; in hopes that he would aboliſh the tyranny of the Phariſees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind ſubmiſſion to that ſect: beſides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity neceſſary to ſo vigorous a deſign; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Phariſees ſaw that Ariſtobulus's party augmented conſiderably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to repreſent to the dying queen, what had paſſed, and to demand her orders and aſſiſtance. She anſwered, that ſhe was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in ſuch affairs, and that ſhe left the care of them to the Phariſees. However ſhe appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired ſoon after.

As ſoon as ſhe was dead, he took poſſeſſion of the throne, and the Phariſees uſed all their endeavours to ſupport him upon it. When Ariſtobulus quitted Jeruſalem, they cauſed his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be ſhut up in the caſtle of * Baris, as hoſtages againſt himſelf. But ſeeing this did not ſtop him, they raiſed an army. Ariſtobulus did the ſame. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by moſt part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jeruſalem, and to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Baris, his partiſans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they alſo ſubmitted to Ariſtobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT.

* Baris was a caſtle ſituate upon an high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the ſame rock.

SECT. IV. *Reign of Ariſtobulus II. which continued ſix years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation [u], that Ariſtobulus ſhould have the crown and high-prieſthood, and that Hyrcanus ſhould reſign both to him, and content himſelf with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and eaſe above all things, and quitted the government, after having poſſeſſed it three months. The tyranny of the Phariſees ended with his reign, after having greatly diſtreſſed the Jewiſh nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the ſtate were not ſo ſoon appeaſed, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaiſm. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the aſcendant of Hyrcanus their elder ſon, with the hope of raiſing himſelf by his favour, when he ſhould ſucceed to the crown [x]. But when he ſaw all his meaſures broke by the depoſition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Ariſtobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole addreſs and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his ſecret negotiations, had at firſt applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinſtate himſelf. After various events, which I paſs over to avoid prolixity, he had recourſe to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition againſt Mithridates was arrived in Syria [y]. He there took cognizance of the competition

[u] A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. [x] A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de bell. Jud. 1—5. [y] Id. xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1—5.

competition between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither alſo, to demand that they ſhould be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They repreſented that they ought not to be ruled by kings: That they had long been accuſtomed to obey only the high-prieſt, who, without any other title, adminiſtered juſtice according to the laws and conſtitutions tranſmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the ſacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enſlave them, if not remedied.

Hycarnus complained, that Ariſtobulus had unjuſtly deprived him of his birth-right, by uſurping every thing and leaving him only a ſmall eſtate for his ſubſiſtence. He accuſed him alſo of practiſing piracy at ſea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alledged againſt him, he produced almoſt a thouſand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expreſsly, to ſupport by their teſtimony what that prince had to ſay againſt his brother.

Ariſtobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been depoſed only for his incapacity; that his ſloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people deſpiſed him; and that he, Ariſtobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into thoſe of ſtrangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all poſſible ſplendour and magnificence. Their ſuperb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great ſervice to his cauſe.

Pompey heard enough to diſcern, that the conduct of Ariſtobulus was violent and unjuſt, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, leſt Ariſtobulus, out of reſentment, ſhould oppoſe his deſigns againſt Arabia, which he had much at heart; he there-

fore dismissed the two brothers, respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, which he took, Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprised till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to

put

put them all into his hands, by way of ſequeſtration, and made him ſign orders for that purpoſe to all the commanders of thoſe places.

Ariſtobulus, incenſed at the violence which had been done him, as ſoon as he was releaſed, made all haſte to Jeruſalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His reſolutions to keep the crown, made him the ſport of the different paſſions, hope and fear. When he ſaw the leaſt appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made uſe of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect that he would declare againſt him, he obſerved a directly oppoſite conduct. Such was the contrariety viſible in the different ſteps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him cloſe. The firſt place where he encamped in his way to Jeruſalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jeruſalem. When he approached, Ariſtobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promiſing an entire ſubmiſſion, and a great ſum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and ſent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jeruſalem, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and, inſtead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not ſtand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they ſhould deceive him with impunity, ordered Ariſtobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army againſt Jeruſalem. The city was extremely ſtrong by its ſituation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors againſt itſelf, was capable of making a long defence.

Ariſtobulus's party was for defending the place; eſpecially when they ſaw that Pompey kept their king priſoner.

But

But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple ſtood, to defend it, and cauſed the bridges of the ditch and valley which ſurrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, reſolved to beſiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done ſo three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterpriſe, but for the ſuperſtitious rigour with which the beſieged obſerved the ſabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themſelves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themſelves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the ſabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the foſſes, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without oppoſition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which ſo great a part of the wall fell that the breach was large enough for an aſſault. The place was carried ſword in hand, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued, in which more than twelve thouſand perſons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and diſorder of this ſlaughter, hiſtory obſerves that the prieſts, who were at that time employed in divine ſervice, continued it with a ſurpriſing unconcern, notwithſtanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to ſee their friends, and relations maſſacred before their eyes. Many of them ſaw their own blood mingle with that of the ſacrifices they offered, and the ſword of the enemy make themſelves the victims of their duty: Happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the ſpirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his ſuperior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the ſanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-prieſt was permitted to enter once a year, upon the ſolemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews moſt againſt the Romans.

Pompey

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the GOD adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans, upon the only religion of the true GOD. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECT. V. *Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years.*

POMPEY having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute

z A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† *Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fane nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat.* CIC. pro Flac. n. 67—69.

tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the adminiſtration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal miniſters. Alexander made his eſcape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

[a] Hyrcanus finding himſelf too weak to take the field againſt him, had recourſe to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jeruſalem, and re-inſtated Hyrcanus in the high-prieſthood [b]. He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical as it had been, he changed it into ariſtocratical; but thoſe innovations were but of ſhort duration.

[c] Craſſus, upon his march againſt the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his inſatiable avarice, ſtopped at Jeruſalem, where he had been told great treaſures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the ſum of ten thouſand talents, that is to ſay, about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Cæſar [d], after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his eſcape from Rome with his father Ariſtobulus, came to throw himſelf at his feet, begged him to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints againſt Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæſar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their intereſts; for, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miſcarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus ſhould retain the dignity of high-prieſt of Jeruſalem, and the ſovereignty of Judæa, to himſelf and his poſterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the ariſtocracy of Gabinius was aboliſhed, and the government

[a] A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57. [b] Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. [c] A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. [d] A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

vernment of Judæa re-eſtabliſhed upon the ancient foot.

Antipater cauſed the [e] government of Jeruſalem to be given to Phaſael his eldeſt ſon, and that of Galilee to Herod his ſecond ſon.

Cæſar [f] at Hyrcanus's requeſt, and in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had cauſed to be demoliſhed. Antipater, without loſing time, began the work, and the city was ſoon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæſar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus [g], ſon of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he ſent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, upon the throne, who on his ſide had alſo raiſed troops. Hyrcanus, and Phaſael, Herod's brother, upon the propoſal of an accomdation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who ſeized them and put them in irons. Herod eſcaped from Jeruſalem, the moment before the Parthians entered it to ſeize him alſo.

Having miſſed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phaſael in chains into his hands. Phaſael who well knew that his death was reſolved, daſhed out his brains againſt the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the prieſt-hood, Antigonus cauſed his ears to be cut off: For according to the Levitical law [h], it was requiſite that the high-prieſt ſhould be

[e] Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. i. 8. [f] A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 17. [g] A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de bell. Jud. i. 19. [h] Levit. xxi. 16—24.

be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. [i] He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negociating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journies by sea and land.

SECT.

[i] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

SECT. VI. *Reign of Antigonus, of only two years' duration.*

[k] IT was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

[l] Herod, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: But the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place however

[k] A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. [l] A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. i. 13.

however held out againſt them many months with exceeding reſolutions, and if the beſieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and reſolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better ſkilled in thoſe things than them, carried the place at length, after a ſiege of ſomething more than ſix months.

[m] The Jews being driven from their poſts, the enemy entered on all ſides, and made themſelves maſters of the city. And to revenge the obſtinate reſiſtance they had made, and the pains they had ſuffered during ſo long and difficult a ſiege, they filled all quarters of Jeruſalem with blood and ſlaughter, plundered and deſtroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmoſt to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus ſeeing all loſt, came and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius in the moſt ſubmiſſive and moſt abject manner. He was put in chains, and ſent to Anthony as ſoon as he arrived at Antioch. He deſigned at firſt to have preſerved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himſelf ſafe as long as that branch of the royal family ſurvived, would not let him reſt till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large ſum of money.[n] He was proceeded againſt in form, condemned to die, and had the ſentence executed upon him in the ſame manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was faſtened to a ſtake; a treatment with which the Romans had never uſed any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Aſmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa.

This ſingular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the ſovereign authority over the Jews was given to a ſtranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened

[m] A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37. [n] Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 405.

opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprised of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "the [o] sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh came, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those, who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published *.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in consequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over

[o] Gen. xlix. 10.

* By F. Babuty Rué St. Jaques.

over the other tribes, were firſt taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the ſupremacy, it was no longer a body ſubſiſting, from which the magiſtrates were taken. It was manifeſt, therefore, that the Meſſiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the reſt, and was confounded with them? In the times of Titus Veſpaſian, and Adrian, who finally extirminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before thoſe times the Meſſiah came.

How wonderful does GOD appear in the accompliſhment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right uſe of hiſtory, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the courſe of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jeruſalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the ſovereignty for himſelf, but for another. It was the groſſeſt injuſtice to give it to a ſtranger, whilſt there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod ſhould be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth ſhould ſooner paſs away, than that decree of GOD not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were neceſſary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgement of the hiſtory of the Parthians, from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of Craſſus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the moſt powerful and moſt conſiderable that ever was in the Eaſt. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itſelf by little and little over all Aſia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threeſcore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty-four years were before

JESUS

JESUS CHRIST, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arſaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his ſucceſſors were called Arſacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Perſian, having overcome and ſlain Artabanus, the laſt of thoſe kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Perſians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the ſon of Mammæus. I ſhall only ſpeak here of the affairs of the Parthians before JESUS CHRIST, and ſhall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Craſſus, which I ſhall relate in all its extent.

[p] I have obſerved elſewhere what gave [q] Arſaces I. occaſion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in poſſeſſion of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had cauſed himſelf to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the ſame time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, ſurnamed Theos.

[r] Some time after Seleucus Callinicus [s], who ſucceeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to ſubdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himſelf, and was made priſoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwiſe Arſaces II. brother of the firſt.

[t] Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great [u], was more ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. He marched into the Eaſt, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He alſo entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned ſoon after with an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arſaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him in reconquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards againſt Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was alſo obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRIAPATIUS;

[p] A M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. [q] Vol. VII. [r] A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. [s] Vol. VII. [t] A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. [u] Vol. VIII.

* The Abbe Longuezue, in his Latin Diſſertation upon the Arſacides, aſcribes what is here ſaid to Artabanus, whom he places between Arſaces II. and Priapatius. Juſtin ſays nothing of them.

[x] PRIAPATIUS, the ſon of Arſaces II. ſucceeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldeſt ſon.

[y] Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own iſſue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greateſt kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator priſoner.

[z] PHRAATES II. ſucceeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched againſt him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himſelf overthrown, and killed in the laſt, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the deſign of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and loſt his life in a battle.

[a] ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his ſtead and died ſoon after.

His ſucceſſor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Juſtin ſays [b] that his great actions acquired him the ſurname of Great.

He declared war againſt the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to ſend him his ſon Tigranes as an hoſtage. [c] The latter was afterwards ſet upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themſelves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war againſt the Romans.

[d] Antiochus Euſebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

[e] It was the ſame Mithridates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, who ſent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and

x A. M. 1798. Ant. J. C. 206. y A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. z A.M. 3873. Ant.J. C. 131. a A. M. 3875. Ant.J.C. 129. b Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 5. p. 315. c A. M. 3909. Ibid. d A. M. 3912. e A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

[f] Demetrius Eucerus, who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died [g] after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which is death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

[h] PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he, who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust has preserved.

[i] Pompey having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

[k] After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes,

[f] A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.
[g] A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c. [h] A. M. 3935. Ant J. C. 69. [i] A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. [k] A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almoſt at the ſame time. Artavaſdes his ſon ſucceeds him.

Mithridates [l] expelled his kingdom either by his own ſubjects, to whom he had rendered himſelf odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne; but without effect. [m] He takes up arms in his own defence. Beſieged in Babylon, and warmly preſſed, he ſurrenders to Orodes, who conſidering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, cauſes him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable poſſeſſor of the throne.

[n] But he found enough to employ him abroad that he had no reaſon to expect. Craſſus had lately been created conſul at Rome, with Pompey for the ſecond time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Craſſus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; becauſe it favoured the deſign he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he ſcarce knew, he could not moderate his tranſports. Amongſt his friends, with whom he was under leſs reſtraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and ſeemed to forget himſelf in a ſtrange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conqueſt of ſome neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: He flattered himſelf with doing ſuch things, as ſhould make the great exploits of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and thoſe of Pompey againſt Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in compariſon with his. He had already over-run in thought Bactria and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remoteſt ſeas, and the extremities of the Eaſt. However, in the inſtructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his deſign againſt it was his darling paſſion. Such a beginning forebodes no ſucceſs.

His

l Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.
n A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.
m A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. Plut. in Craſſ. p. 552, 554.

His departure had beſides ſomething more inauſpicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppoſe his going; and was joined by many people, who could not ſuffer him to ſet out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war againſt a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in conſequence, having in vain oppoſed the departure of Craſſus, made haſte to the gate of the city through which he was to paſs, and ſet a cauldron full of fire before him. When Craſſus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the moſt terrible imprecations which could not be heard without making all preſent tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Craſſus have been regarded by many writers as the accompliſhment.

Nothing could ſtop him. Superior to all oppoſition, he continued his march, arrived at Brunduſium, and though the ſea was very tempeſtuous, embarked, and loſt abundance of ſhips in his paſſage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Craſſus rallied him to this effect, "King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the * twelfth hour of the day." "And you, Lord Craſſus," replied Dejotarus, "are not too early in ſetting out to make war againſt the Parthians." For Craſſus was at that time upwards of ſixty years old, and his countenance made him ſtill look older than he was.

He had been informed, [i] that there were conſiderable treaſures in the temple of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himſelf maſter of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Beſides the other riches, which amounted to very conſiderable ſums, in it there was a beam of gold, incloſed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that uſe: this was known only to Eleazar the prieſt, who

[i] Joſeph Antiq. xiv. 12.

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

kept the treaſures of the ſanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a-half. Eleazar, who was appriſed of the motive of Craſſus's march to Jeruſalem, to ſave the other riches, which were almoſt all of them depoſited in the temple by private perſons, diſcovered the golden beam to Craſſus, and ſuffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the reſt. Was he ſo ignorant to imagine any thing ſacred with avarice? Craſſus took the beam of gold, and notwithſtanding made the reſt of the treaſures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing ſucceeded at firſt as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any oppoſition, paſſed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the inſatiable deſire of enriching himſelf by the plunder of a country which was ſuppoſed to be extremly opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and ſeveral treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterpriſe to give a juſt pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparation for their defence. Craſſus in conſequence was maſter of the field, and overrun without oppoſition the greateſt part of Meſopotamia. He took alſo ſeveral cities with no reſiſtance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occaſion, it had been eaſy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Cteſiphon, to have ſeiſed them, and made himſelf maſter of all Babylonia, as he had done of Meſopotamia. But inſtead of purſuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to ſecure the cities which had ſurrendered to him, he repaſſed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his ſole employment was to amaſs money, and to plunder temples.

He

He was joined there by his ſon, whom Cæſar ſent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with ſeveral of the military crowns, given by the general to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. He brought with him a thouſand choſen horſe.

Of all the faults committed by Craſſus in this expedition, which were very conſiderable, the greateſt undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his haſty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without ſtaying, and to have ſeiſed Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, inſtead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cauſe of his ruin.

Whilſt he was re-aſſembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambaſſadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commiſſions in few words. They told him that if that army was ſent by the Romans againſt the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a concluſion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Craſſus, who, againſt the opinion of his country, and to ſatiate his private avarice, had taken arms againſt them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their maſter was well diſpoſed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Craſſus, and to ſuffer the Romans in his dominions, rather ſhut up than keeping poſſeſſion of cities to depart with their lives and rings ſafe. They ſpoke no doubt of the garriſons left by Craſſus in the conquered places. Craſſus anſwered this diſcourſe only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "They ſhould have his anſwer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the moſt antient of the ambaſſadors, named Vahiſes, made anſwer, laughing and ſhowing him the palm of his hand; "Craſſus you will ſooner ſee hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia." The ambaſſadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he muſt prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit [k], Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: He sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, were they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily over-thrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of

[k] A. M 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

of thoſe who preſſed him to begin his march, and to make all poſſible expedition.

What encouraged him the moſt, and confirmed him in that reſolution, was the arrival of Artabaſus king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of ſix thouſand horſe, which were part of his guards; adding that beſides theſe, he had ten thouſand cuiraſſiers, and thirty thouſand foot at his ſervice. But he adviſed him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Meſopotamia, and told him, that he muſt enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reaſons with which he ſupported this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horſe, in which the greateſt ſtrength of their army conſiſted, would be rendered entirely uſeleſs to them: that if they took this route he ſhould be in a condition to ſupply the army with all neceſſaries; inſtead of which, if he marched by the way of Meſopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be neceſſary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in thoſe plains, the horſe would have all poſſible advantages againſt him; and, laſtly, that he muſt croſs ſeveral ſandy deſarts, where the troops might be in great diſtreſs for want of water and proviſions. The council was excellent, and the reaſons unanſwerable: but Craſſus, blinded by Providence, which intended to puniſh the ſacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jeruſalem, deſpiſed all that was ſaid to him. He only deſired Artabaſus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as ſoon as poſſible.

I have ſaid, that Providence blinded Craſſus, which is ſelf-evident in a great meaſure. But a Pagan writer makes the ſame remark upon it; this is Dion Caſſius, a very judicious hiſtorian, and at the ſame time a warrior. He ſays, that the Romans under Craſſus "had no ſalutary "view, and were either ignorant upon all occaſions of "what was neceſſary to be done, or in no condition to "execute it; ſo that one would have thought, that, con-

"demned

" demned and purſued by ſome divinity, they could " neither make uſe of their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewiſh nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Craſſus made haſte, therefore, to ſet forward. He had ſeven legions of foot, near four thouſand horſe, and as many light-army ſoldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thouſand men, that is to ſay, one of the fineſt armies the Romans ever ſet on foot. When his troops paſſed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the ſoldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the ſame time a black cloud, out of which burſt an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightening, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were ſeiſed with fear and ſadneſs. He endeavoured to reanimate them in the beſt manner he was able, promiſing them with an oath, that they ſhould march back by the way of Armenia; and concluded his diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not one of them ſhould return that way. Thoſe laſt words which were ambiguous, and had eſcaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greateſt trouble and diſmay. Craſſus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a ſpirit of obſtinacy and haughtineſs, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the ſenſe of thoſe words, to re-aſſure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His ſcouts, whom he had ſent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a ſingle man to be ſeen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horſe which ſeemed to have fled ſuddenly, as if they had been purſued.

Upon this advice, Craſſus confirmed himſelf in his hopes, and his ſoldiers began to deſpiſe the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to ſtand a charge, and come to blows with them. Caſſius adviſed him at leaſt

to

to approach ſome town, where they had a garriſon, in order to reſt the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what deſigns they had in view; or if Craſſius did not approve that counſel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; becauſe, by always keeping upon the coaſt of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to ſurround him; and that with the fleet which might follow him, proviſions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might ſtand in need. This Caſſius was Craſſus's quæſtor, and the ſame who afterwards killed Cæſar.

Craſſus, after having conſidered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the addreſs to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly ſerved under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman ſoldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Craſſus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already ſpread an univerſal terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himſelf, and to carry them the ſhorteſt way. Craſſus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a ſpecious turn to what he propoſed, gave entirely into the ſnare, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of Caſſius, and ſome others, who ſuſpected that impoſtor's deſign.

Craſſus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having perſuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him acroſs the plain by a way at firſt level and eaſy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep ſands, in which the army found itſelf engaged in the midſt of a vaſt country all bare, and of a frightful drineſs, where the eye could diſcover

diſcover neither end nor boundary, nor the troops hope to find reſt and refreſhment. If thirſt, and the fatigue of the way, diſcouraged the Romans, the proſpect of the country alone threw them into a deſpair ſtill more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant, or brook; not ſo much as an hill, nor a ſingle blade of graſs: nothing was to be ſeen all round but heaps of burning ſand.

This gave juſt reaſon to ſuſpect ſome treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabaſus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Craſſus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to ſupport, prevented him from ſending the aid he had promiſed; but that he adviſed him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces againſt the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at leaſt to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and ſuch places as were commodious for the horſe, and to keep always cloſe to the mountains. Craſſus, inſtead of giving ear to theſe wiſe counſels, flew out againſt them that gave them; and without vouchſafing to write an anſwer to Artabaſus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at preſent to con-"ſider the affairs of Armenia: I ſhall go thither ſoon, "and ſhall then puniſh Artabaſus for his treachery."

Craſſus was ſo full of his Arab, and ſo blinded by his artful ſuggeſtions, that he had continued to follow him without the leaſt diſtruſt, notwithſtanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the ſandy deſart we have mentioned. The traitor then made his eſcape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of ſome days in a deſart of the enemy's country where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the ſcouts came in full ſpeed to inform Craſſus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldneſs to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and conſternation.

ſternation. Craſſus was more affected with it than the reſt. He made all poſſible haſte to draw up his army in battle. At firſt following the advice of Caſſius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to ſurround him; he poſted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in cloſe order, he made them form a large hollow ſquare, facing on all ſides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horſe near it, in order that each part, being equally ſuſtained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater ſecurity and boldneſs. He gave one of the wings to Caſſius, the other to his young ſon Craſſus, and poſted himſelf in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the ſoldiers, from the exceeding drought and exceſſive heat.

Moſt of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to reſt there during the night; that in the mean time, all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and diſpoſition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Craſſus ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the ardour of his ſon, and of the horſe under his command, who preſſed him to lead them againſt the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occaſion for refreſhment ſhould eat under arms in their ranks; and ſcarce allowing them time for that purpoſe, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not ſlowly, and halting ſometimes, but with rapidity, and as faſt as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either ſo numerous or ſo terrible, as they had been repreſented,

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry conſiſting of five or ſix hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

which was a ſtratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greateſt part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightneſs of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themſelves with their veſts or with ſkins.

When they approached and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no ſooner given the ſignal of battle than the whole field reſounded with dreadful cries, and the moſt frightful noiſe. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made uſe of a great number of hollow inſtruments, covered with leather, and having bells of braſs round them, which they ſtruck violently againſt each other, the noiſe made by theſe inſtruments was rude and terrible, and ſeemed like the roaring of wild beaſts, joined with claps of thunder. Thoſe Barbarians had well obſerved, that of all the ſenſes none diſorders the ſoul more than the hearing: that it ſtrikes upon, and affects it the moſt immediately, and is the moſt ſudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and diſmay into which this noiſe had caſt the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a ſudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightneſs of their helmets and cuiraſſes, which were of burniſhed ſteel, and glittered like ſun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horſes added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handſome, well-made, of an advantageous ſtature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien ſeemed to promiſe. For he painted after the faſhion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dreſſed with art; whereas the Parthians ſtill perſevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and ſuch as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At firſt the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having obſerved the depth of the hollow ſquare ſo well cloſed, and even, in which the troops

troops ſtood firm and ſupported each other ſucceſsfully, they fell back and retired in a ſeeming confuſion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much aſtoniſhed to ſee their whole army ſurrounded on all ſides. Craſſus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute thoſe orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themſelves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their diſorder and diſmay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of thoſe arrows, againſt which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themſelves to ſhooting at a diſtance, without its being poſſible for them to miſs, though they had endeavoured it, ſo cloſe were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, becauſe, drawing their bows to the utmoſt, the ſtrings diſcharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuoſity and force that nothing could reſiſt.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all ſides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy they could do them no hurt, and ſuffered no leſs than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual diſcharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the moſt expert in that exerciſe after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wiſely conceived; for in flying they ſaved their lives, and in fighting, avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the Barbarians, after having exhauſted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they ſupported their diſtreſs with valour and reſolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither thoſe, who had exhauſted their quivers, wheeled about to repleniſh them, Craſſus, loſing almoſt all courage, ſent orders

orders to his ſon to endeavour, whatever it coſt him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely ſurrounded by them; for they were principally intent againſt him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Craſſus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horſe, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſurround him. The latter whether they were afraid to ſtand before a body of troops that came on with ſo good an aſpect, or rather deſigned to draw off young Craſſus, as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Craſſus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They don't ſtand us," puſhed on full ſpeed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horſe, piqued themſelves upon not ſtaying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerneſs, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to purſue, till being at a great diſtance from their main body, they diſcovered their error; for thoſe, who had ſeemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Craſſus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not fail to attack them, and come to cloſe fight. But thoſe Barbarians contented themſelves with oppoſing him in front with their heavy armed horſe, and ſent out detachments of their light horſe, that wheeling about, and ſurrounding them on all ſides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the ſame time, by ſtirring up the heaps of ſand, they raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the Romans could neither ſee nor ſpeak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow ſpace, and keeping cloſe order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow ſhot at them, and died by ſlow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to ſupport the pains they ſuffered, they rolled themſelves upon

* They conſiſted of near ſix thouſand men.

upon the ſands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquiſite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated acroſs their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increaſed their pains.

Moſt of them died in this manner; and thoſe who were ſtill alive were no longer in a condition to act. For when young Craſſus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horſe, they ſhowed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through and riveted to the ground; ſo that it was equally impoſſible for them either to defend themſelves or fly. Putting himſelf therefore at the head of his horſe he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himſelf boldly amongſt the ſquadrons but with great diſadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops with weak and ſhort javelins ſtruck againſt armour either of excellent ſteel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and ſtrong ſpears. Theſe Gauls were troops in whom young Craſſus placed the greateſt confidence, and with whom he did moſt wonderful exploits. For thoſe troops took hold of the ſpears of the Parthians, and cloſing with them, ſeiſed them by the neck, and threw them off their horſes upon the ground, where they lay without power to ſtir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horſes, crept under thoſe of the enemy, and thruſt their ſwords into their bellies. The horſes wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls moſt trouble, was heat and thirſt; for they were not accuſtomed to ſupport them. They loſt alſo the greateſt part of their horſes, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themſelves upon their ſpears. They were obliged there-

fore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Craſſus, who had received ſeveral dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance, a riſing bank of ſand, to which they retired. They faſtened their horſes in the centre, and made an encloſure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would aſſiſt them conſiderably in defending themſelves againſt the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwiſe. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it ſome relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground ſhowing them over each others heads, and thoſe in the rear moſt, they were all expoſed to the enemy's ſhot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the barbarians ſhowered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy deſtiny, in periſhing miſerably, without being able to make uſe of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Craſſus had two Greeks with him, who had ſettled in that country in the city of Carræ. Thoſe two young men, touched with compaſſion to ſee him in ſo ſad a condition, preſſed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Iſchnes, which had eſpouſed the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, "That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon ſo many brave men, who died out of love for him." A noble ſentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as faſt as they could, and embracing them, diſmiſſed them the ſervice. For himſelf, not being able to make uſe of his hand, which was ſhot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domeſtics to thruſt his ſword through him, and preſented his ſide to him. The principal officers killed themſelves, and many of thoſe that remained were ſlain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred priſoners, and after having cut off young Craſſus's head, marched immediately againſt his father.

The latter, after having ordered his ſon to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout,

rout, and purſued vigorouſly, had reſumed ſome courage, and the more, becauſe thoſe who oppoſed him, ſeemed to abate conſiderably of their ardour; for the greateſt part of them were gone with the reſt againſt young Craſſus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a ſmall hill in his rear, in hopes that his ſon would ſpeedily return from the purſuit.

Of a great number of officers, ſent ſucceſſively by his ſon, to inform him of the danger he was in, the greateſt part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, got to his preſence, and declared to him that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him directly a powerful re-enforcement. Upon this news, Craſſus was ſtruck with ſuch a diverſity of afflicting thoughts, and his reaſon thereby ſo much diſturbed, that he was no longer capable of ſeeing or hearing any thing. However, the deſire of ſaving his ſon and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Craſſus, arrived that moment with great cries and ſongs of victory, which from far appriſed the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Craſſus upon the end of a ſpear, approached the Romans, and inſulting them with the moſt ſcornful bravadoes, they aſked them of what family and relations that young Roman was; "For," ſaid they, "it is impoſſible that a young man of ſuch extraordinary valour and bravery ſhould be the ſon of ſo baſe and cowardly a father as Craſſus."

This ſight exceedingly diſpirited the Romans, and inſtead of exciting the height of anger, and the deſire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and diſmay. Craſſus, however, ſhowed more conſtancy and courage on his diſgrace, then he had done before: and running through the ranks he cried out, "Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome "are ſtill invulnerable and invincible, whilſt you con-

"tinue

"tinue firm and intrepid. If you have any compaſſion "for a father, who has juſt now loſt a ſon, whoſe "valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and "reſentment againſt the Barbarians. Deprive them "of their inſolent joy, puniſh their cruelty, and do not "ſuffer yourſelves to be caſt down by my misfortune. "There is a neceſſity for experiencing ſome loſs, when "we aſpire at great atchievements. Lucullus did not "defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without coſt-"ing them ſome blood. It is after the greateſt defeats "that Rome has acquired the greateſt victories. It is "not by the favour of fortune ſhe has attained to ſo high "a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude "in ſupporting herſelf with vigour againſt adverſity."

Craſſus endeavoured by remonſtrances of this kind to re-animate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raiſe the cry of battle, he perceived the general diſcouragement of his army even in that cry itſelf, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and ſtrenuous.

The charge being given in conſequence, the light-horſe of the Parthians diſperſed themſelves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, diſtreſſed them extremely with their arrows, whilſt the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to cloſe up in one great body; except thoſe, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occaſioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themſelves upon the horſe, like men in deſpair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occaſioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thruſt their lances through their bodies with ſuch force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; ſaying, they would grant Craſſus only that night to lament for his ſon, unleſs he ſhould find it more expedient to conſult his own ſafety, and prefer going voluntarily to being

being dragged to their king Arſaces. They then encamped in the preſence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they ſhould meet with very little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dreſſing their wounded, of whom the greateſt part died in the moſt horrible torments. Every man was ſolely intent upon his particular diſtreſs. For they all ſaw plainly that they could not eſcape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themſelves into that immenſe plain of which they ſaw no end. Beſides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would diſcover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly ſenſible, that Craſſus alone was the cauſe of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in deſiring to ſee his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obſcure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, he was to the vulgar, ſays Plutarch, a great example of the inſtability of Fortune; to wiſe and conſiderate perſons, a ſtill greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to ſuch a degree, that he could not bear to be leſs at Rome than the firſt of ſo many millions of men, and thought himſelf low and mean, becauſe there were two above him, Cæſar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius approached him, and endeavoured to make him riſe, and to conſole and encourage him. But ſeeing him entirely depreſſed with the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all conſolation and remonſtrance, they aſſembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was neceſſary to retire immediately, they decamped without ſound of trumpet,

trumpet. This was done at firſt with great ſilence. But ſoon after, the ſick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themſelves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confuſion, cries, ſhrieks, and horrible lamentations; ſo that the troops who marched foremoſt were ſeiſed with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back and drawing up in battle, or buſying themſelves in ſetting the wounded who followed them upon the beaſts of carriage, and in diſmounting ſuch as were leſs ſick, they loſt abundance of time. There were only three hundred horſe, under the command of Ignatius, who did not ſtop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the ſentinels upon the walls, and when they anſwered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without ſaying any more, or letting them know who he was, he puſhed on with all poſſible expedition to the bridge Craſſus had laid over the Euphrates, and ſaved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the meſſage he had ſent to Coponius by thoſe guards, was of great ſervice to Craſſus. For that governor, wiſely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown perſon had given him that intelligence, that it implied ſome diſaſter, gave orders immediately for the garriſon to ſtand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Craſſus had taken he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not purſue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thouſand, to the ſword; and their cavalry being diſperſed over the plain after thoſe who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found ſtraggling on all ſides.

One

One of Craſſus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having ſeparared in the night from the groſs of the army with four cohorts, miſſed his way, and was found the next morning upon a ſmall eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himſelf with great valour; but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his ſoldiers killed, except twenty, who with ſword in hand fell on the enemy in deſpair, in order to open themſelves a paſſage through them. The Barbarians were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a paſſage. They arrived ſafe at Carræ.

At the ſame time Surena received falſe advice, that Craſſus had eſcaped with the beſt of his troops, and that thoſe who had retired to Carræ were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of purſuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory loſt, but ſtill uncertain whether it was or not, deſired to be better informed, in order to his reſolving either to beſiege Carræ, if Craſſus was there, or to purſue him if he had quitted it. He therefore deſpatched one of his interpreters, who ſpoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to deſire to ſpeak with Craſſus himſelf, or Caſſius, and to ſay that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Craſſus accepted the propoſal with joy. Soon after ſome Arabian ſoldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Craſſus and Caſſius by ſight, from having ſeen them in the camp before the battle. Thoſe ſoldiers approached the place, and ſeeing Caſſius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his maſter, and abandon Meſopotamia to him: that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the laſt extremities.

Caſſius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Caſſius, ſhould immediately be fixed. The Arabians aſſured him

that

that they would go and do their utmoſt to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not eſcape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at firſt with extreme haughtineſs, and declared that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they muſt previouſly deliver up Craſſus and Caſſius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at ſuch exceeding deceit, told Craſſus that it was neceſſary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without loſing a moment's time. It was highly important that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ ſhould know this deſign, till the inſtant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it firſt, and by Craſſus himſelf, who confided it to him, and choſe him for his guide, relying very injudiciouſly upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in conſequence were not long before they were fully appriſed of the whole plan by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their cuſtom to engage in the night, the impoſtor to prevent Craſſus from getting ſo much ground as might make it impoſſible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans ſometimes by one way, ſometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marſhy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and neceſſary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themſelves out of that labyrinth.

There were ſome who, ſuſpecting that it was with no good deſign Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refuſed at laſt to follow him, and Caſſius himſelf returned towards Carræ. By haſty marches he eſcaped into Syria with five hundred horſe. Moſt of the reſt, who had truſty guides, gained the paſs of the mountains, called *Sinnacchi*, and were in a place of ſafety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thouſand men, under the command of Octavius.

As

As for Craſſus, the day overtook him, ſtill embarraſſed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in thoſe marſhy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horſe, and five lictors who carried the faſces before him.

He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almoſt upon him, and he had no more than twelve ſtadia to make before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as ſoon as poſſible another ſummit of thoſe mountains, leſs impracticable to the horſe, and in conſequence not ſo ſecure. This was under that of the *Sinnacchi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the ſpace between them. Octavius therefore ſaw plainly the danger that threatened Craſſus, and deſcended firſt himſelf from thoſe eminences with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, to his aid. But he was ſoon followed by all the reſt, who, reproaching themſelves for their cowardice, flew to his aſſiſtance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians ſo rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Craſſus in the midſt of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy ſhould approach their general's body till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena, ſeeing that the Parthians, already repulſed, went on with leſs vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans ſhould make the mountains, that it would be impoſſible for him to take them, he had again recourſe to ſtratagem to amuſe Craſſus. He gave ſecret orders, that ſome priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, after having poſted a number of his ſoldiers around them, who, ſeeming in diſcourſe together, ſaid, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averſe to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his deſign was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Craſſus with great humanity. And that the effects might

might agree with their expreſſions, as ſoon as the priſoners were releaſed, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unſtrung, and arms extended, invited Craſſus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He ſaid with a loud voice; That, contrary to the king his maſter's will, and through the neceſſity of a juſt defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at preſent he was diſpoſed to treat them with mildneſs and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire ſecurity on his part. We have obſerved on more than one occaſion, that the peculiar characteriſtic of theſe Barbarians, was to promote the ſucceſs of their deſigns by fraud and treachery, and to make no ſcruple of breaking through their engagements upon ſuch occaſions.

The troops of Craſſus lent a willing ear to this diſcourſe of Surena's, and expreſſed exceeding joy at it: but Craſſus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom ſo ſudden a change was very ſuſpicious, did not eaſily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The ſoldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went ſo far as to accuſe him of cowardice; charging him with expoſing them to be ſlaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not ſo much as the courage to ſpeak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Craſſus at firſt had recourſe to entreaties, and remonſtrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the reſt of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might eaſily ſave themſelves when night came on: he even ſhowed them the way, and exhorted them not to fruſtrate ſuch hopes of their approaching ſafety. But ſeeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by ſtriking their ſwords upon their ſhields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to deſcend, and turning about, he

he only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seised and kept prisoners, and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see!" said he, "What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horseback!" "Let an horse be brought for him immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "That there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview, each after the * custom of his own country." "Very good," returned Surena, "from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions.

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

conventions." At the ſame time he held out his hand to him. Craſſus would have ſent for an horſe; but Surena told him there was no occaſion for it, and that the king made him a preſent of that.

A horſe was immediately preſented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers taking him round the middle, ſet him upon it, ſurrounded him, and began to ſtrike the horſe to make him go forwards faſt. Octavius was the firſt, who, offended at ſuch behaviour, took the horſe by the bridle. Petronius ſeconded him, and afterwards all the reſt of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to ſtop the horſe, and to make thoſe retire by force, who preſſed Craſſus forwards. At firſt they puſhed againſt each other with great tumult and diſorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his ſword, killed a groom of one of thoſe Barbarians. At the ſame time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his ſword behind, which laid him dead upon the ſpot. Petronius, who had no ſhield, received a ſtroke upon his cuiraſs, and leaped from his horſe without being wounded. Craſſus at the ſame moment was killed by a Parthian. Of thoſe that were preſent, ſome were killed fighting around Craſſus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians ſoon followed them thither, and told them, that Craſſus had ſuffered the puniſhment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down, with confidence, and gave them his word that they ſhould ſuffer no ill treatment. Upon his promiſe ſome went down and put themſelves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and diſperſed on all ſides. But of the latter very few eſcaped; all the reſt were purſued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the ſword.

The loſs of this battle was the moſt terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thouſand men killed in it, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. The reſt made their eſcape by different ways

ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: She was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by them as sights. The * prisoners taken

* *Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara*
Turpis maritus vixit? Et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis; *Sub*

in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the ſhame of Rome, as Horace emphatically deſcribes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the ſtandards of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Auguſtus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, conſented to reſtore their ſtandards and priſoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Auguſtus and the whole empire, as a moſt glorious triumph; ſo much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and ſo much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if poſſible, to the leaſt trace. For themſelves they never could forget it. Cæſar was upon the point of ſetting out againſt the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them when he was killed. Antony formed the ſame deſign, which turned to his diſgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the moſt important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their moſt warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The ſurname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondeſt, and moſt ſenſibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans ſometimes paſſed the Euphrates to extend their conqueſts beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the ſame, to carry their arms and devaſtations into Syria, and even into Paleſtine. In a word, the Romans could never ſubject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of braſs, which with impregnable force reſiſted the moſt violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabaſus. The latter upon the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to Craſſus, perceiving by the falſe meaſures he took, that the Romans were infallibly loſt, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters

Sub rege Medo, Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æterræque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

daughters to Pacorus, the ſon of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilſt they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Craſſus were brought to them, which Surena had cauſed to be cut off, and ſent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that fight, and it was ſaid that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the inſatiable thirſt which Craſſus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory. His maſter, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after. There are princes, near whom too ſhining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be ſerved by ſuperior talents, capable of eclipſing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus obſerves of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not ſufficiently repay the ſervice his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, inſtead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of conſummate ability at thirty years of age, and ſurpaſſed all men of his times in valour. He was, beſides that, perfectly well made, and of the moſt advantageous ſtature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had alſo more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greateſt ſubject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the eſtabliſhment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, a thouſand horſe completely armed, beſides a great number of light-armed troops and domeſtics, which in all did amount to leſs than ten thouſand men.

* *Deſtruit per hæc fortunam ſuam Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.* TACIT. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Caſſius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with ſo much vigour, that they were obliged to repaſs the Euphrates ſhamefully without effecting any thing.

The next [1] year the conſuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were aſſigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amuſing himſelf at Rome, Caſſius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, ſon of Orodes king of the Parthians, had paſſed the Euphrates in the beginning of the ſpring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orſaces, an old general, who diſpoſed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he beſieged. Caſſius had ſhut himſelf up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, aſſembled all his forces, and marched to the eaſtern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppoſe an invaſion on that ſide, ſhould the Armenians attempt it, and at the ſame time to be at hand to ſupport Caſſius in caſe of need. He ſent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the ſame view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, ſo that not a ſingle man eſcaped.

The news of this defeat and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Caſſius and his troops to make a good defence, and ſo much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that deſpairing to carry the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was

[1] A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad famil. l. ii. Epiſt. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18. 20, 21. v. 1. 8. vii. 2.

was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder, the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who being situate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves [m] free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself, who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince, or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a master piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired

[m] Eluthero Cilices.

defired the honour of a triumph in his military expeditions, employs all the art and addrefs of eloquence to engage that grave fenator in his favour. Plutarch tells us [n], that after his return to Rome, the fenate offered him a triumph, and that he refufed it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæfar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a folemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the ftate was upon the point of falling into the greateft calamities. His refufal to triumph in the midft of the apprehenfions and diforders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itfelf could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæfar, and thofe that followed, the Parthians declaring fometimes for one, and fometimes for the other party, made feveral irruptions into Syria and Paleftine. But thofe are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewifh hiftories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I fhall conclude this abridgement of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-eftablifhing the honour of the nation. He was a foldier of fortune, who from the loweft condition of [o] life, had raifed himfelf by his merit to the higheft dignities of the republic. In the war againft the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Afculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæfar, under whom he had ferved in Gaul, and paffed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and conful. He was the only perfon that triumphed for his exploits againft the

[n] Plut. in Cic. p. 879. [o] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had began to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That [p] general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans, which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he had contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it

p A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the

* *Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non aloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat.* JUSTIN.

the death of his ſon, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes. For ſeveral days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nouriſhment. When the exceſs of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to ſpeak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he ſaw him, and called to him; he ſeemed to diſcourſe with him, and as if he were living to ſpeak to him, and hear him ſpeak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and ſhed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more juſt. This was the moſt fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loſs of the prince leſs than that of the army itſelf. For he was the moſt excellent perſon the houſe of the Arſacides had ever produced, for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which conſtitute the truly great prince. He had made himſelf ſo much beloved in Syria, during the little time he reſided there, that never did the people expreſs more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than for the perſon of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear ſon Pacorus had thrown him, he found himſelf extremely embarraſſed about the choice of his ſucceſſor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom ſolicited him in favour of her own, and made uſe of all the aſcendancy ſhe had over a ſpirit impaired by age and affliction. At laſt he determined however to follow the order of birth and nominated PHRAATES, the eldeſt and moſt vicious of them all. [q] He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when he cauſed all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Euſebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only becauſe their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himſelf. The father, who was ſtill alive, not being able to avoid profeſſing extreme diſpleaſure upon that occaſion, that unnatural ſon ordered him alſo to be put to death. He treated the reſt of his brothers in the ſame manner, and did not ſpare his own ſon, from the apprehenſion that the

[q] A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

people would ſet him upon the throne in his ſtead. It was this prince, ſo cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgement of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have ſpoken in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occaſion, but without mentioning, either their beginning or ſucceſſion. I ſhall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country [r] of Aſia Minor. The Perſians, under whom it was at firſt, had divided it into two parts, and eſtabliſhed two ſatrapies, or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whoſe poſſeſſion it fell, ſuffered thoſe two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other towards Pontus and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo ſays, that Ariarathes was the firſt king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time [s] Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Perſia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threeſcore and ſixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at firſt by a long ſucceſſion of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by

[r] Strabo, l. xii. p. 533, 534. [s] A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

by the laſt, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their hiſtory is almoſt entirely unknown, I ſhall make no mention of it in this place.

[t] ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holofernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

[u] Having joined the Perſians in the expedition againſt Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

[x] ARIARATHES II. ſon of the former, had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conqueſt of Cappadocia, and had contented himſelf with ſome inſtances of ſubmiſſion.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into poſſeſſion of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his ſide prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thouſand foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken priſoner. Perdiccas cauſed him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into poſſeſſion of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father, eſcaped into Armenia.

As ſoon as he was appriſed of the death of [y] Perdiccas and Eumenes and the employment the other wars gave Antiochus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-aſcended the throne of his anceſtors.

ARIAMNES

[t] A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. [u] A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. [x] M. A. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Plut. id Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599. [y] A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

[y] ARIAMNES his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldeſt ſon to Stratonice, the daughter of the ſame Antiochus. He had ſo great an affection for this ſon, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the Death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his ſon of the ſame name with himſelf, who was at that time very young.

[z] ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princeſs, who finding herſelf barren, had recourſe to impoſture. She deceived her huſband, and made him believe that ſhe had two ſons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenneſs ceaſing ſome time after, ſhe had two daughters, and then one ſon, who was named Mithridates. She confeſſed the fraud to her huſband, and ſent one of the ſuppoſed children to be brought up at Rome, with a ſmall train, and the other into Ionia. The true ſon took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. ſupplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria with troops, in the war which he undertook againſt the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes ſent [a] ambaſſadors to Rome, to aſk the ſenate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare againſt the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to ſay, two hundred thouſand crowns. The ſenate afterwards abated him half that ſum, at the requeſt of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his ſon-in-law Eumenes, againſt Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themſelves arbiters of the kings

y A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. z A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.
[a] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii n. 37, & 39.
* He is called ſo by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus

kings of the Eaſt, ſent ambaſſadors to tranſact a treaty between thoſe three princes: but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions ſufficiently hard.

The latter had a ſon of his own name, who loved him in the moſt tender manner, which occaſioned his being ſurnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no leſs affection. He deſired to give him the proofs of it, in reſigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The ſon, who had all poſſible affection and reſpect for a father who ſo well deſerved both, could not reſolve to accept an offer ſo advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to ſo good a heart as his; and repreſented to his father, that he was not one of thoſe who could conſent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and ſincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the hiſtory, inordinate ambition reſpected nothing, and boldly violated the moſt ſacred ties of nature and religion.

[b] Ariarathes VI. ſurnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of philoſophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the reſidence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a ſiſter, whom Ariarathes refuſed to eſpouſe, leſt that alliance ſhould give offence to the Romans. That refuſal extremely prejudiced Demetrius againſt the king of Cappadocia. He ſoon found an occaſion to be revenged, by ſupplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himſelf the brother of Ariarathes

[b] A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

[e] Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. [f] Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had [g] retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him in order to make use

[e] Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334. & 336. [f] A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.
[g] Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

uſe of him afterwards in the pretenſions he had upon Cappadocia, and the deſign he had formed of dethroning and deſtroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived againſt him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who ſet Alexander Bala upon the throne in his ſtead.

[h] Ariarathes aided the Romans againſt Ariſtonicus, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Pergamus, and periſhed in that war.

He left ſix children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's ſervices, added Lycaonia and Silicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of thoſe ſix princes, apprehending the loſs of her authority when they ſhould be at age to reign, poiſoned five of them the ſame year their father died. She had treated the ſixth in the ſame manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people ſet him upon the throne, after having deſtroyed that cruel murtheress of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. [i] He married another Laodice, ſiſter of Mithridates Eupator, and had two ſons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law cauſed him to be murthered by Gordius, one of his ſubjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took poſſion of Cappadocia. Mithridates ſent an army thither, drove out the garriſons of Nicomedes, and reſtored the kingdom to his nephew, the ſon of the ſame Ariarathes, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when Mithridates, preſſed him to recall Gordius from baniſhment, with deſign to rid himſelf of the ſon by the ſame aſſaſſin who had killed the father. That young prince ſhuddered at the propoſal, and raiſed an army to oppoſe the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his meaſures by the hazard of a battle,

[h] A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.
[i] A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. Ibid. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

tle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor [h]. The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of fraud and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people who are wise

[h] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

wife enough to make a moderte use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I.[i] This new prince did not enjoy his dignities in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-instated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

[k] ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

[l] ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people: a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes.

The

[i] A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla. [k] A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. [l] A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2 & 4. l. xv. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earneſtly ſolicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averſe to ſuch thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no iſſue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to diſpel the ſtorm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were ſucceſsful; he ſaved the king's life and crown by his conſtancy, and a generous diſintereſtedneſs, which rendered him inacceſſible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change ſides. The greateſt danger came from the high-prieſt of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.° They were conſecrated to Bellona, and obſerved almoſt the ſame ceremonies in the worſhip of that goddeſs. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we ſpeak in this place. The temple of that goddeſs was endowed with great eſtates, and ſerved by a vaſt number of perſons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and ſo conſiderable, that only the king was his ſuperior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo ſays, that in his time there were above ſix thouſand perſons conſecrated to the ſervice of this temple. From hence the high-prieſt was ſo powerful; and † in the time of which we ſpeak, might have occaſioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties had he thought proper to defend himſelf by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he

° Strabo, l. xii. p. 535, & 557.

* *Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat Ἐν παροδῳ conſilio & auctoritate & quod proditoribus ejus a παροδιτον με, non modò ἀδοκητον, præbui, regem, regnumque ſervavi.* Cic. Epiſt. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

† *Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, ſi facerdos armis ſe (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adoleſcens & equitatu & peditatu & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfoci ut e regno ille diſcederet; rexque ſine tumultu ac ſine armis, omni auctoritate auctus communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret.* Cic. Epiſt. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

he had troops, both horſe and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and ſubſiſt them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable poſſeſſion of it.

During the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with ſome troops to the latter, who were preſent at the battle of Pharſalia. This, no doubt, was the reaſon that Cæſar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very conſiderable ſums of money from him [p]; for that prince repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæſar was then in Egypt, from whence he ſet out to reduce Pharnaces to reaſon. He paſſed through Cappadocia, and made ſuch regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good underſtanding, and entirely ſubjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæſar had conquered Pharnaces [q], he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

[r] This good treatment gave the murderers of Cæſar reaſon to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare againſt them; but he refuſed to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a juſt diffidence of him, ſo that Caſſius thought it incumbent upon him not to ſpare him. He attacked him, and having taken him priſoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The poſſeſſion of it was diſputed with him by Siſinna, the eldeſt ſon of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-prieſt of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandſon of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates againſt Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates

[p] Cæſar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hiſt. de Bell. Alex. [q] Diod. l. xliii. p. 183. [r] A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii.

thridates in the ſecond war, as we ſhall relate in the twenty-ſecond book[s], and joined the Romans. He left one ſon, named alſo Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed ſix months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-prieſthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His ſon Archelaus poſſeſſed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two ſons by her, Siſinna and Archelaus. [t] The firſt diſputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who poſſeſſed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Siſinna. What became of him is not known; hiſtory only tells us, that Ariarathes re-aſcended the throne. Five or ſix years after, Mark Antony expelled him [u], and ſet Archelaus, the ſecond ſon of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

[x] ARCHELAUS. That prince became very powerful. He expreſſed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was fortunate, notwithſtanding that conduct, to eſcape the reſentment of Auguſtus. He was ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, and was almoſt the only one treated with ſo much favour.

[y] He aſſiſted Tiberius to re-eſtabliſh Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Auguſtus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great ſervices with Auguſtus, eſpecially when his ſubjects brought accuſations againſt him before that prince. He pleaded his cauſe himſelf, and was the occaſion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his reſidence in the iſland of Eleuſis near the coaſt of Cilicia, and having married Pythodorus, the wife of Polemon king of Pontus, he conſiderably augmented his power. [z] For as the ſons of

[s] Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116. [t] A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. [u] A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411. [x] A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 944. [y] A. M. 3983. Ant. J. C. 21. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671, & l. xii. p. 556. [z] A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16.

of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the adminiſtration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy: [a] but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who ſaw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the ſons of Agrippa, grandſons of Auguſtus, and his ſons by adoption, were raiſed by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæſars, and to ſpare himſelf the mortification of being witneſs to their aggrandiſement, demanded and obtained permiſſion to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occaſion to withdraw from buſineſs and the hurry of Rome for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. His retreat was conſidered as a real baniſhment, and people began to neglect him as a perſon in diſgrace, and did not believe it ſafe to appear his friends. † During his ſtay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, reſiding generally at ‡ Eleuſis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, ſays Tacitus, out of pride or haughtineſs, but by the advice of Auguſtus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. [b] On the contrary, when young Caius Cæſar, appointed governor of the Eaſt, was ſent into Armenia by Auguſtus, to appeaſe the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future ſucceſſor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often miſtaken in

[a] A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. n. Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99. [b] A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

* *Ne fulgor ſuus orientium juvenum obſtaret initiis, diſſimulata cauſa conſilii ſui, commeatum ab ſocero atque eodem vitrico acquieſcendi a continuatione laborum petiit.* Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

† *Rex Archelaus quinquageſimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, inviſus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluiſſet. Nec id Archelaus per ſuperbiam omiſerat, ſed ab intimis Auguſti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæſare, miſſeque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur.* Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

‡ Eleuſis was but ſix Leagues diſtant from Rhodes. Strab. l. 14. p. 651.

in their conjectures, for want of a clear inſight into futurity. It had been more conſiſtent with prudence and wiſdom in Archelaus to have obſerved ſuch a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is obſerved of Pomponius * Atticus, who during the diviſions, with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himſelf agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offenſive to him, as it argued an ungrateful diſpoſition in Archelaus. He made him highly ſenſible of this when he became maſter. [c] Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and, without diſſembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in perſon to demand it. This was a ſnare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The † king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not to act as if he did. He ſet out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and ſaw himſelf proceeded againſt as a criminal. Dion aſſures us, that Archelaus, depreſſed with age, was generally believed to have loſt his reaſon; but that in reality he was perfectly in his ſenſes, and counterfeited the madman, becauſe he ſaw no other means of ſaving his life. The ſenate paſſed no ſentence againſt him: but age, the gout, and, more than thoſe, the indignity of the treatment he was made to ſuffer, ſoon occaſioned his death. He had reigned two and fifty years. After his death, Cappadocia

[c] A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

* *Hæc quale ſit, facilius exiſtimabit is, qui judicare quantæ ſit ſapientiæ, eorum retinere uſum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non ſolum æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque Antonium, cum ſe uterque principem non ſolum urbis Romanæ ſed orbis terrarum eſſe cuperet.* Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

† *Ille ignarus doli, vel, ſi intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptuſque immiti a principe, & mox accuſatus a ſenatu: non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, ſed angore, ſimul feſſus ſenio, & quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, inſolita ſunt, finem vitæ ſponte an fato implevit.* Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 42.

Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca [d], a city situate upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of * Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses [e], and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also a great number of † slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other

[d] Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539. [e] Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

* This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

† *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.* HORAT.

other methods of torture, in order to inure themſelves againſt the pains their falſe witneſs might one day expoſe them to ſuffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury [f] though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who aſcribes to them the having made this manner of ſpeaking common amongſt them; "Lend me your evidence [g] and I'll pay you with mine."

Cappadocia, generally ſpeaking, was far from being a country of great geniuſſes and learned men. It has produced however ſome very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pauſanias are of that number. It was believed eſpecially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profeſſion of orators; and it became a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoiſe. S. Baſil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

[f] Cic. pro. Flac. n. 9, 10. [g] *Da mihi teſtimonium mutuum.*

* Θατ̃ον ην λευκας κορακας πτηναις χελωνας
Ευρειν, η δυκιμον ρητορα Καππαδοκην.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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